



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

THE DE COPPET MUSIC ROOM IN NEW YORK AND SWITZERLAND

By EDWIN T. RICE

A HALF CENTURY ago, musical New York was slowly but steadily extending its activities in every field except that of chamber-music. The orchestras of the Philharmonic Society, of Theodore Thomas, of the New York Symphony Society under Walter Damrosch, were then competing for the support of an increasing public; and the New York musicians soon had the important rivalry of their brethren in Boston who began going there under Gericke in 1887. Two opera-houses, the old Academy of Music on Fourteenth Street and the then new Metropolitan, were giving seasons of Italian, French, and German opera. Theodore Thomas was presently conducting Mrs. Thurber's American Opera Company in the Academy of Music. The New York Oratorio Society and other choral bodies were providing music-lovers with opportunities of hearing great choral works. Distinguished virtuosi appeared in ever increasing numbers in the recital field. But of important public chamber-music, there was a singular dearth. The city's greatest musical need was a generous patron and leader in that field.

In October, 1886, such a leader appeared. Edward de Coppet, one of the most enlightened music-lovers of his generation, then opened, in a modest apartment on the upper West Side, a music-room which for

a generation (in its successive locations) was to be the most interesting and active private center of chamber-music in the nation, and which during the twelve years preceding de Coppet's death, was to be of historic significance to all lovers of chamber-music. At the outset, the means employed were simple and of domestic intimacy. The circumstance which then prompted de Coppet to begin to devote his life to chamber-music was the presence in his household of two artists who were admirably qualified for his purposes. They were his wife, Pauline Bouis de Coppet, a remarkably gifted and sensitive ensemble pianist, and her brother, Charles Bouis, a brilliant and accomplished violinist who had just completed his studies under César Thomson. De Coppet had met his wife and her brother in Nice, and had found in that city, in the music-room of an amateur named Gautier, the kind of musical environment which he wished to create in New York. The most important element was, of course, de Coppet's own exalted spirit of devotion, his ardent desire to share with his friends the great literature of chamber-music, then so little known in New York. And so he asked and obtained the eager co-operation of a group of amateurs who were to have, for varying terms, the opportunity of participating in the musical life so maintained. The only surviving member of this group, besides the writer, is de Coppet's friend from boyhood, Julian R. Tinkham. Three of the most faithful, who are no longer living, were Winthrop L. Rogers, who later represented G. Schirmer, Inc., in London; William Howard Rachau; and Frank H. Holden, the New York architect.

The scene of activity shifted after one season to a small house on West 60th Street, and in 1896 to a very substantial dwelling (314 West 85th Street) which had a music-room perfectly proportioned and appointed for purposes of chamber-music.

During half the period from 1886 until 1916 (the year of de Coppet's death), the work of serious study was shared by artists with amateurs, but this work was always guided and inspired by de Coppet. No like figure has appeared in our entire musical life. His participation was not that of an executant, as is usually the rôle of the host in private chamber-music. Although he was, from an amateur's standpoint, an accomplished pianist, the part that he filled was that of director, prescribing the works to be prepared, marking the parts for the guidance of the players, and following every rehearsal with the score in his hand. His comprehensive library received, soon after publication, all impor-

tant new scores, and he was thus enabled to explore the entire literature to an extent and with a thoroughness that few busy artists could hope to rival. And while the technical inadequacies of the participating amateurs must, in the early period, have been trying, his encouragement and stimulating advice always led to improvement in the ensemble.

From the beginning, de Coppet recorded the programs of each evening, the names of the performers and of the attending guests. It was a golden period for the serious student of chamber-music, whether artist or amateur. The wealth of the literature of the classics seemed inexhaustible. Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven provided together about one hundred and twenty-five string quartets in addition to string trios and string quintets. More than half of these were read or studied in the de Coppet music-room. Mendelssohn, Schubert, and Schumann afforded twenty-five string quartets and several quintets, most of which then seemed to have deep significance although now seldom heard in public. Other composers of secondary importance, such as Cherubini, Spohr, Veit, Onslow, Volkmann, Rubinstein, Gernsheim, Bazzini, were read with grateful appreciation. Among the moderns were the Russian Tchaikovsky, Borodin, and Glazounov; the Scandinavian Grieg, Svendsen, and Sinding; the French Saint-Saëns; the Hungarian Carl Goldmark; and the Bavarian Richard Strauss. The Czech Dvořák, some of whose works aroused the admiration of Brahms, provided a rich variety with his eight string quartets, piano and string quintets, piano quartets and trios, and string sextet. But the chief figure among the "moderns" was Brahms, who at that time was still creating master-works. These were played and studied in the de Coppet music-room soon after publication. The 'Cello Sonata in F Major, the Violin Sonata in A Major, and the C Minor Piano Trio (opera 99, 100, and 101) all appeared in 1887. Two years later came the D Minor Violin Sonata (op. 108). In 1891 the great String Quintet in G Major (op. 111) was published, and in 1892 the magnificent Clarinet Quintet, the Clarinet Trio, and two Clarinet Sonatas and the revised edition of the B Major Trio (op. 8). The excitement and interest aroused by those works as they were first played were experiences never to be repeated. By the year 1893, all of the Brahms chamber-music had been played and most of it studied in the de Coppet music-room.

It was a simpler musical period than the present. The technical and musical difficulties of the compositions were not insuperable. Save

for the five last quartets of Beethoven, all of the works heard in the de Coppet music-room could be read with satisfaction to the players, and could be prepared for an audience without an undue number of rehearsals. But that period began to change with the turn of the century. Debussy, Ravel, Reger, Schoenberg, Hindemith, Berg, Bartók, Milhaud, and all of the post-War composers wrote with such complexity and presented such technical difficulties that not even experienced artists could read their works for pleasure. Even after an inordinate number of rehearsals, the pleasure is not always shared by every listener. And so it may be fairly claimed that the years of the de Coppet music-room (1886-1916) presented players and listeners alike with opportunities for enjoyment which can no longer be repeated.

It was de Coppet's hospitable custom to celebrate each anniversary of St. Cecilia's day by preparing a program to be heard by a small group of intimate friends, and afterwards entertaining the musicians and friends at dinner. Congratulatory cable messages were exchanged with M. Gautier in Nice, and de Coppet would, after dinner, read a short review of the work of the preceding year. After these ceremonies, the musicians usually played without previous rehearsal an octet or a sextet.

For eleven seasons, ending in May, 1897, this first period of de Coppet chamber-music continued without any prolonged cessation. The two outstanding artists were, as in the beginning, Madame de Coppet and Charles Bouis. There were six hundred and ninety-four programs in those eleven years. In all of those which included works for piano and strings (and they numbered about one hundred and fifty compositions), Madame de Coppet sat at the piano with her devoted husband at her side turning the pages. Most of the works were studied by her with scrupulous care and performed with sympathetic understanding and brilliant virtuosity. Charles Bouis usually sat at the first desk of the violins but occasionally yielded that place to some assisting artist in order to play first viola in string quintets and sextets.

This domestic period came to an end in May, 1897, for the de Coppet family then went abroad for a prolonged stay. At the same time, Charles Bouis returned to Nice where he has ever since made his residence. On his departure, New York lost a distinguished artist and a man whose gracious simplicity and charm had attracted countless friends.



The de Coppet Music Room at 314 West 85th Street, New York

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1. Alberto de Coppet-Stern, 2. André de Coppet, 3. Edward J. de Coppet, 4. Alfred Jochim, 5. William Howard Bush, 6. Adolphe de Coppet, 7. Edouard J. de Coppet, 8. Étienne de Coppet, 9. Jean de Coppet, 10. Pauline de Coppet, 11. Dr. J. de Coppet, 12. Dr. J. de Coppet, 13. Dr. J. de Coppet, 14. Dr. J. de Coppet.



Mrs. Pauline de Coppet looking down
from the veranda of Flonzaley upon
her husband.



Flonzaley as it appeared in 1900. In the right foreground Edward
de Coppet is pointing out the panorama of Lake Geneva.

On the return to New York of the de Coppet family in November, 1899, a period of transition began which was to continue for four years. During this period, de Coppet's main purpose was to choose and maintain a quartet of artists resident in New York. The Kneisel Quartet still had its headquarters in Boston, and made only six appearances each season in New York. There was no other chamber organization of like quality and distinction in America, and de Coppet felt that musical life in New York was incomplete without a resident quartet which could be heard at frequent intervals throughout the season. And so, in pursuance of this plan, de Coppet brought together in his music-room a number of New York musicians who gradually replaced the amateurs of earlier times. These artists were tentatively combined in changing groups without, however, fully realizing de Coppet's standards of artistic achievement.

In October, 1902, de Coppet brought with him from Switzerland a young pupil of César Thomson's named Alfred Pochon, whose great musical gifts he had discovered and enjoyed in the preceding summer. Throughout the ensuing New York season, Pochon played in the music-room, with a number of the local artists, but the high standards of quartet playing sought for by de Coppet were still not wholly attained. And so, in the spring of 1903, the de Coppet family returned to Europe, and, with Pochon as his guide, de Coppet resumed his search, this time in Europe, for the members of his future quartet.

In the course of the summer of 1903, Adolfo Betti, an Italian pupil of Thomson's; Ugo Ara, a violist of Venetian birth; and Ivan d'Archambeau, a Belgian 'cellist, were invited to form such a quartet.

Betti had studied under César Thomson in Liège and had been awarded a gold medal on graduating from the Liège Conservatory. He had afterwards toured Europe with brilliant success as a violin virtuoso. In 1903, he and Pochon were associates of César Thomson in the Brussels Conservatory. Ugo Ara (whose recent death has brought sorrow to countless friends) had also received his training under Thomson, and was, in 1903, pursuing studies in musical composition in Vienna, under Robert Fuchs. D'Archambeau had also graduated with high distinction in Brussels, and in 1903 was following a career as chamber musician in Glasgow. All four artists had thus matured under Latin traditions of string technique and musicianship; and when they were assembled to form a quartet, there was, from the beginning, extraor-

dinary homogeneity of style. It was, therefore, no mere chance that the quartet soon became one of the outstanding chamber organizations of the period, not only in America but in the entire musical world.

The place of assembly was "Flonzaley," the traditional name of a Swiss farm near Chexbres and a few miles northeast of Lausanne. De Coppet had purchased Flonzaley in 1899 and had erected, from plans of his American architects, a comfortable dwelling containing a music-room as its chief feature. It was superbly located on the range of hills which rise from the northern shores of the Lake of Geneva. Across the Lake are seen the splendors of the Savoy Alps.

When Betti, Pochon, Ara, and d'Archambeau were welcomed there by de Coppet in 1903, it was a matter of course that they should be called "Quatuor de Flonzaley," and as such the quartet has passed into musical history.

In establishing the Flonzaley quartet, de Coppet wrote a new chapter of modern musical history. The terms on which he engaged the artists bound them to devote their lives to chamber-music. No teaching was to be undertaken, no solo appearances were to be made. Technical study was to be a feature of each day's work, followed by a period of ensemble practice. The conditions of playing both in public and in private were to be prescribed by de Coppet. His artistic standards were to be conformed to. This system was in fact no dictatorship. Each artist had supreme faith in de Coppet and profoundly respected his musical judgment. And so wisely had the men been chosen that the friendships established from the outset became, with the passage of time, the closest and most affectionate of personal relationships between the quartet and its founder. The musicians thenceforth were de Coppet's guests and he their host both winter and summer until the tragic end in April, 1916.

After the preliminary rehearsals at Flonzaley in the summer of 1903, the de Coppet family went to Vienna for the winter, and were followed by the quartet. On January 3, 1904, the first program was privately given at No. 3 Reichsrath Strasse. In October, 1904, the de Coppets returned to New York. The artists followed, and on October 13, 1904, program No. 838 is recorded as the Flonzaley's first appearance in the de Coppet music-room.

Throughout the two ensuing seasons, the Flonzaley Quartet played for the de Coppets and their friends, sometimes twice in each week. The artists were then preparing for their public career. No public

concerts were given in this early period except for charities in which de Coppel was interested. It was then arranged that, under the management of Loudon Charlton, the quartet should give concerts in New York each season, and should also obtain engagements for out-of-town appearances. These multiplied rapidly as the quartet obtained increasing recognition in all the important music centers of the nation. It then became de Coppel's policy to reserve a portion of the time of the quartet for his own music-room, and thus the private appearances, while lessened in number, continued to be enjoyed by the de Coppel friends. There were upwards of two hundred such occasions between October, 1904, and April, 1916. The wealth of chamber-music so presented is shown in the carefully recorded programs. On the more intimate evenings the quartet read newly published works which were not always played in public. Opportunities were also afforded of hearing important new compositions before they appeared on concert programs. The audiences included many well known artists and music-lovers who finally became so numerous that it was necessary to divide them into groups attending on successive evenings. On several occasions when the Flonzaley were on tour, the Kneisel Quartet appeared before the de Coppel friends, manifesting the generous spirit of artistic co-operation which endured throughout that whole period.

It is an interesting circumstance that the Kneisel Quartet removed from Boston to New York in the autumn of 1905, and that the friendly rivalry between the two leading American quartets continued until the Kneisels disbanded in the spring of 1917.

For twelve seasons Flonzaley was the de Coppel summer capital. In the neighboring village of Gourze, of which Pochon was a native, the artists assembled each summer and prepared programs for the ensuing season. Each week-end, they drove to Flonzaley and played for the de Coppel guests. These were usually musicians of high distinction like the Paderewskis, the Sembrich-Stengels, the Weingartners, the Josef Hofmanns, the Schellings, the Harold Bauers, and countless others. But this idyllic life was terminated in midsummer of 1914 by the horrors of the Great War. No chamber-music has since been heard in Flonzaley.

The final program in the New York music-room was given on April 21, 1916, and included the Schubert Quartet in A Minor and the Minuet and Fugue from the Beethoven Quartet in C Major. The guests included Mr. and Mrs. Paderewski, Sigismond Stojowski, Mr. and Mrs. Kreisler,

Mr. and Mrs. Casals, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hinton (Katharine Goodson), Mr. and Mrs. Gabrilowitsch, Mr. and Mrs. Sembrich-Stengel, and Rudolf Ganz. Nine days later, the quartet again assembled and played for their host the great quartet of Beethoven in E-flat, op. 127. There followed a sudden heart-attack which brought an untimely end to that life of noble beneficence. On April 30, 1916, Edward de Coppet died as he had lived, while endeavoring to bring beauty into the lives of others. On a perfect day in early May, the quartet again came into the music-room where he lay, and one of the last of Beethoven's adagios (from opus 127) brought its message of eternal peace to those who had come to express their sorrowful devotion. It was a profoundly moving benediction upon a noble life.

The music-room which for twenty years had been de Coppet's sanctuary has vanished, but not its influence or its traditions. The large place now filled by chamber-music in our cultural life is due in no small degree to de Coppet's leadership, and to the lofty ideals which found expression and realization in that American home of the Flonzaley Quartet.

MUSORGSKY AND DEBUSSY

By EDWARD LOCKSPEISER

BORIS GODOUNOV was produced at the Maryinsky Theater in Saint-Petersburg in 1874, and twenty-eight years later *Pelléas et Mélisande* was given at the Paris Opéra Comique. In those three decades the cult of Wagner threatened the musical foundations of the whole of Western Europe. *Boris* and *Pelléas* are, however, the masterpieces of two countries which had formed a kind of musical alliance against the Wagnerian invasion; and it is not surprising, therefore, that some connection has been sought between them. The statement of Charles Bordes that "*Boris* is the grandfather of *Pelléas*" is famous, and it is a statement to which it might seem that Debussy himself gave authority when he said to his friend Jean-Aubry: "You are going to hear *Boris*? Then you will hear the whole of *Pelléas*." But Debussy was a master ironist, and his statements are not always to be taken at their face-value!

To see the true relationship between Debussy and Musorgsky we must go back to the early history of *Boris* in France. It is generally stated that Musorgsky's reputation in France was due to the lecturer Pierre d'Alheim and to his wife, the singer Marie Olénine, who, between 1896 and 1900 gave over sixty concerts of Musorgsky's music in France and Belgium. *Boris* was first given in Paris by Diaghilev in 1908, and its success was largely the result of d'Alheim's spade-work. But the score of *Boris* had been in France long before. It had been brought over in the very year of its first performance at the Maryinsky Theater by Saint-Saëns, who happened to have heard it in Saint-Petersburg during a concert tour. Saint-Saëns, however, had of Musorgsky no opinion whatever—a sentiment that was more than reciprocated. ("Oh, this Monsieur Saint-Saëns, who plumes himself on his originality!" Musorgsky wrote to Stassov. "With every fiber of my brain I loathe him; with every pulse of my heart I renounce him! What have we to do with him, this worker in miniature?") The score of *Boris*—the original edition which had not been tampered with by Rimsky-Korsakov and which is now almost unprocurable—was in Paris, then, as early as 1874, but in the possession of one who had no notion of its worth. The real discoverer of Musorgsky was a friend of Saint-Saëns' named Jules de Brayer. Before speaking

of Brayer's connection with Musorgsky, it will not be amiss to say a few words about this out-of-the-way musician who appears in no musical dictionary, who is hardly known even in France, but who nevertheless counts for much in the recent history of French music.

His friend Robert Godet has supplied a few biographical details.¹ Brayer was born at Manosque in the Basses-Alpes about a hundred years ago. He studied in Paris at the Ecole Niedermeyer, a school of religious music, where he knew Saint-Saëns, Messager, and Gabriel Fauré; he later became organist at the Cathedral of Chartres. After the Franco-Prussian war, he became assistant to the conductor Lamoureux, contributed to "La Revue Wagnérienne," and published harmonizations of a number of folk-songs, and arrangements of pieces by Berlioz and Lécocq. He died during the World War. From another source² we learn of the powerful influence that he exerted over all who knew him. "All the youth in music considered him as an authority, and composers who later became famous published not a score, not a page without first having sought his advice, or before his judgment had been pronounced. . . . When Jules de Brayer said '*C'est bien*' it was like the verdict of a jury, and so his disciples accepted it. He was the first to see the worth of Charpentier's *Louise*, he gave advice to Camille Erlanger, he was behind the mind of Emmanuel Chabrier, and he was the first to give encouragement to Claude Debussy." His own compositions include a *Légende* for orchestra, a little piece called *Sur l'eau*, and *Merlin*, a music-drama of which he wrote the text himself. But he composed with difficulty and extremely slowly, and his peculiar type of sensibility bordered on a morbid sensitiveness of nerves. "Yet this hesitant, troubled man," Schneider writes, "saw the problems of others clearly. In works that were altogether different from his own he knew at a glance what was worth while and he was able to direct the youth of his day."

Brayer was one of the first French musicians to visit Bayreuth. It is said that he journeyed there on foot and that, on his arrival, Wagner was so overcome by the tremendous tribute, that he invited him to stay at Wahnfried. That was in 1876, at the first performance of the *Nibelungen*. Fifteen years later, Brayer induced Renoir to paint the portrait of Wagner now in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris.³ But the really significant anecdote about Brayer concerns his last meeting

¹ See the article "En marge de la marge" by Robert Godet in *La Revue Musicale*, May, 1926.

² Article by Louis Schneider in *Le Temps*, June 25, 1929.

³ See "The Renoir Portraits of Wagner" by Edward Lockspeiser, in *Music and Letters*, January, 1937.

with Liszt. In 1886, Liszt, at the height of his fame, came to Paris for the performance at Saint-Eustache of his *Graner Festmesse*. Enthusiasm bordered on delirium. As he entered the church, a well-known society lady, holding a pair of scissors, rushed out from the audience to beg him for a lock of his hair. But Liszt turned away and, to the astonishment of the fashionable gathering, picked out a puny little man whom he embraced on both cheeks. Such was the admiration of Liszt for a man whom a whole generation of French composers considered an "apostle."

Brayer, we have said, was the discoverer of Musorgsky. His opinion of *Boris Godounov* is contained in a letter of 1896 to Pierre d'Alheim, from which it will be interesting to quote here.

One evening, in 1874, when I was at the house of Camille Saint-Saëns who had just returned from a journey to Moscow, I came across the score of *Boris Godounov*. As I went through it, I became more and more interested in this unknown composer; but Saint-Saëns said that "all the ridiculous things which had been said about Wagner could very well be applied to Musorgsky." I had only gone through the score rapidly, but I couldn't agree. And two or three weeks later, when I again went to Saint-Saëns's, I took the score home to study at my leisure. From that time I tried on many occasions to convince my friends of the worth of this music, which was so strange and new and which I came to admire more and more. But I met with nothing but jeering laughter or, at best, indifference. Certainly Saint-Saëns was not alone in his view, and any number of conventional old fossils were agreed that "Musorgsky was only a fool and his music grotesque ranting."

And he goes on to give an opinion, common enough nowadays, but which, at the time, was a remarkably true evaluation held in the face of bigotry and prejudice.

What one must praise above all in Musorgsky is the beauty and originality of his melodic invention, which is equalled only by the astonishing precision of his declamation. The great value of his work lies in the feeling one gets of intense life and of a wonderful and penetrating charm. He is sometimes naïve, sometimes tortured, but he is always alive, and his music may be joyful or sad or full of the most poignant despair, but it is music of incredible beauty, with wonderful modulations and a complexity of rhythm and harmony without there ever being anything strained or labored. For he is lucidity itself; and he creates, not with a conscious effort, but with the power and serenity of genius.

Now Debussy had the highest regard for Brayer's opinions. "Who will tell us now of music that is worth hearing?" he is reported to have said on learning of Brayer's death. But—and here is the interesting thing—they were not in agreement on *Boris*. In the letter quoted above, Brayer mentions that the one person who shared his enthusiasm for the Russian

masterpiece was his friend Godet, who happened also to be an intimate friend of Debussy's. Godet brought the score of *Boris* to Debussy in 1889. "He placed it open on the piano," Godet writes, "but whenever we came to see him we noticed that it was open at the same place. Finally, Brayer asked him what he thought of it. He confessed that not being able to understand the words he could not form an idea of the music. Yes, he had noticed a gracefully written chorus, which happened to be at the open page, but that was all. And so we judged that he was not very susceptible to the charms of Russian music, though it is right to say that he had been greatly impressed by a symphony of Borodin's and also by Balakirev's 'Thamar.'"

This indifference to *Boris* may at first seem strange, but it will not seem so strange when it is realized how different Debussy's psychological approach to music was from Musorgsky's. True, in 1889 Debussy, still under thirty, had hardly found himself. His major works were the Prix de Rome cantata, *L'Enfant Prodigue*, and *La Damselle Éluë* on the French translation of the poem by the Pre-Raphaelite, Rossetti. *L'Après-midi d'un faune* and the Quartet had not yet been conceived; nor had *Pelléas et Mélisande*, which was begun three years later. Yet, during the very year that he became acquainted with *Boris*, Debussy made a statement to Ernest Guiraud, his old master at the Conservatoire, which was strangely prophetic of his choice and treatment of Maeterlinck's drama. "According to my conception of dramatic art," he said, "music begins where speech fails. Music is intended to convey the inexpressible, I should like her to appear as if emerging from the shadowy regions to which she would from time to time retire. I would have her always discreet."⁴ "Discreet"—that is certainly not the word for *Boris*! Consider, then, by the side of Debussy's statement, these fiery words of Musorgsky's, contained in a letter to Stassov: "The artistic representation of beauty alone, in the material sense, is vulgar puerility—artistic childishness. *The most subtle traits* of man's nature and *humanity in the mass*, the investigation of these little known regions and their conquest—that is the artist's real vocation. . . . Man is animal and social, and he can't be otherwise; in the human masses, as in individuals, there are always the subtlest traits, elusive traits that no one has ever touched; to observe and study these by reading, by observation, by conjecture, to study *all this intensively* and with it to feed humanity as with some health-giving food, as yet untasted—there's an under-

⁴ Léon Vallas, "Claude Debussy: His Life and Works," London, 1933.

taking!"⁵ There is Musorgsky's naturalism, as different from the veiled, suggestive art of Debussy as is Tolstoy or Dostoevsky from Mallarmé or Verlaine.

About 1896, however, at the concerts of Marie Olénine, Debussy came to perceive some of the beauties in *Boris* that he had missed. Is there reason to suppose that he might then have been influenced in the writing of *Pelléas*, which was not finished until 1902? I think not. It is significant that one reason given by Debussy for his indifference to the great Russian drama is that he did not understand the words and was therefore unable to judge the music. For in his vocal music Debussy strove above all for a type of recitative that would follow and accentuate the intonation of the spoken word. It is this poignant and peculiarly French recitative, resembling in many ways the recitative in the operas of Lully, that is the great and special beauty of *Pelléas*. Can one conceive of any connection between this extraordinarily subtle writing and the deliberately harsh and strident qualities of *Boris*; between the Frenchman's *chiaroscuro* in harmony and orchestra and the forthright qualities of Musorgsky; between anything, in fact, in their relative conceptions of dramatic art, demonstrably opposed in all essentials?

Those who would uphold a Musorgskian influence on Debussy are fond of pointing to the latter's *Nuages*, in the opening theme of which "every note," says Vallas, is taken from a song of Musorgsky's, "The noisy day has sped its flight" from the cycle called "Sunless." The resemblance, so far as actual notes and intervals are concerned, is striking, but as in a hundred other examples of themes that seem to have been borrowed from the work of another composer, the context, the individual *façonnage*, refutes the far too simple theory of premeditated plagiarism. The one piece of Debussy's that has an unmistakable Musorgskian flavor is the early Verlaine song, *Chevaux de bois*; but this was written about 1888, at a time when, in the present state of our biographical knowledge, Musorgsky could only have been a name to Debussy. The music for the scene in the vaults, in *Pelléas* (Act III, Scene 2), has a certain Musorgskian gruesomeness, particularly the opening minor chords for solo 'cellos and bass viols and the reply from the low register of the bassoon; but the orchestration here attains a delicacy altogether outside Musorgsky's sphere.

The means of expression used by the two composers, then, are as dissimilar as their aesthetics. The Russian masters with whom Debussy

⁵ Gerald Abraham, "Musorgsky" in "Masters of Russian Music," London, 1936.

in his early youth had some affinity are rather Borodin (see *Paysage sentimental* and the *Ballade*, originally entitled *Ballade slave*); Rimsky-Korsakov (see *Triomphe de Bacchus* and the pianoforte *Danse*, originally entitled *Tarentelle styrienne*); and Balakirev, whose songs delighted him, we gather, during his early stays in Moscow. If there is any affinity with Musorgsky it is in the desire, common to both composers, to bring music out of its own narrow, professional circle into a wider world where literature, painting, and music inter-acted freely on each other. The origins of Debussy's art—most writers are agreed on this point—are connected almost as much with painting and poetry as with music⁶; and the same may be said of Musorgsky, though, of course, the painters and writers who affected Musorgsky were completely opposed—as was Musorgsky himself—to the Impressionist and Symbolist contemporaries of Debussy. The two musicians lived in different worlds, they came under entirely opposite sets of influences, yet in their individual ways they both strove to enlarge the scope of musical expression by the use of literary and pictorial suggestions. Dependent on this was their abhorrence of professionalism. "Tell me," Musorgsky writes to Stassov, "why, when I listen to the conversation of young artists, painters, or sculptors, I can follow their thoughts and understand their opinions and aims, and I seldom hear them mention technique, save in cases of absolute necessity? On the other hand, when I find myself among musicians I rarely hear them utter a living idea; one would think they were still at school; they know nothing of anything but technique and shop-talk. Is the art of music so young that it has to be studied in this puerile way?" This would express Debussy's feelings exactly.

In conclusion, there is an interesting anecdote told by Robert Godet about Debussy's "Children's Corner." Debussy had written in "La Revue Blanche" an extremely eulogistic article on Musorgsky's cycle of songs, "The Nursery." He spoke here of "the ardent sincerity which is found nowhere else. . . Musorgsky is unique and will remain so, for his art is free from artifice or arid formulæ." The article came to the notice of Jules de Brayer who was overjoyed. "Like a good-natured master," Godet writes, "not wishing to discourage a hard-working pupil, he said to his friend: '*Enfin, Debussy, vous y êtes?*'" Eight years later Debussy sent him a copy of the "Children's Corner" and, recalling his article on

⁶ A most interesting study on Debussy's relation to contemporary painters is the article, *La peinture musicienne et la fusion des arts* by Camille Maclair in *La Revue bleue*, September 6, 1902.

"The Nursery," remarked: "*Voyez, Brayer, j'y suis, j'y reste.*" So it was "The Nursery," it seems, that inspired Debussy to write a set of children's pieces. That was the nearest he ever came to Musorgsky. But between those miniature dramas of the Russian realist and the exquisitely dainty and sensitive "Children's Corner," the last product of the *fin-de-siècle*, what a difference! Admittedly, neither is Wagnerian; but that is all they have in common.

AN AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CRITICISM

THE LEGACY LEFT BY W. J. HENDERSON, RICHARD ALDRICH, AND THEIR COLLEAGUES OF THE OLD GUARD

By OSCAR THOMPSON

AMERICA'S MUSIC CRITICISM has been singularly self-sufficient and self-contained throughout the years when America's creative musicians have been struggling with the dilemma of eclecticism. Hard words were said about them on occasion, but no one thought of accusing W. J. Henderson or Richard Aldrich of writing like a cross between Ernest Newman and "Papa" Korngold, with an admixture of Adolf Weissmann, Émile Vuillermoz and Guido Gatti. These two typically American critics drew neither their opinions nor their phraseology from abroad. Ordinarily, they wrote as if completely ignorant of, and totally disinterested in, the verdicts that already had been formulated in Italy, France, Germany, or England, on the new music or the new interpreters passing in review before them. If they heard music abroad it was the same as hearing it in New York; they heard with the ears, not of the country in which they were sojourning, but of America. Rarely was there a quotation in their reviews communicating what some European had thought. And if there was a paraphrase of trans-Atlantic comment, it was in connection with some controversial point, in which, as like as not, the American reaction was contrasted with the European more as something of factual news interest than as a balancing of opinions.

In all this, Henderson and Aldrich were by no means isolated figures; their independence was shared by others of the so-called Old Guard in American criticism. Equally free of Mother Europe's apron strings were Henry E. Krehbiel, Henry T. Finck, and James Gibbons Huneker; so, too, those notables of Boston, W. F. Apthorp, Philip Hale, and Henry T. Parker. Few bothered to ponder this at the time these men were toiling in their particular vineyards of specialized journalism. But with the deaths of Richard Aldrich in Rome on June 2 and W. J. Henderson in New York just three days later, there was brought home

to some of us, not only the weight of a great double loss, but the strength and the character of the work these men had done. Thanks to them, as much as to any others—and, be it repeated, they did not stand alone—an American school of music criticism has been created and stands four-square to the world.

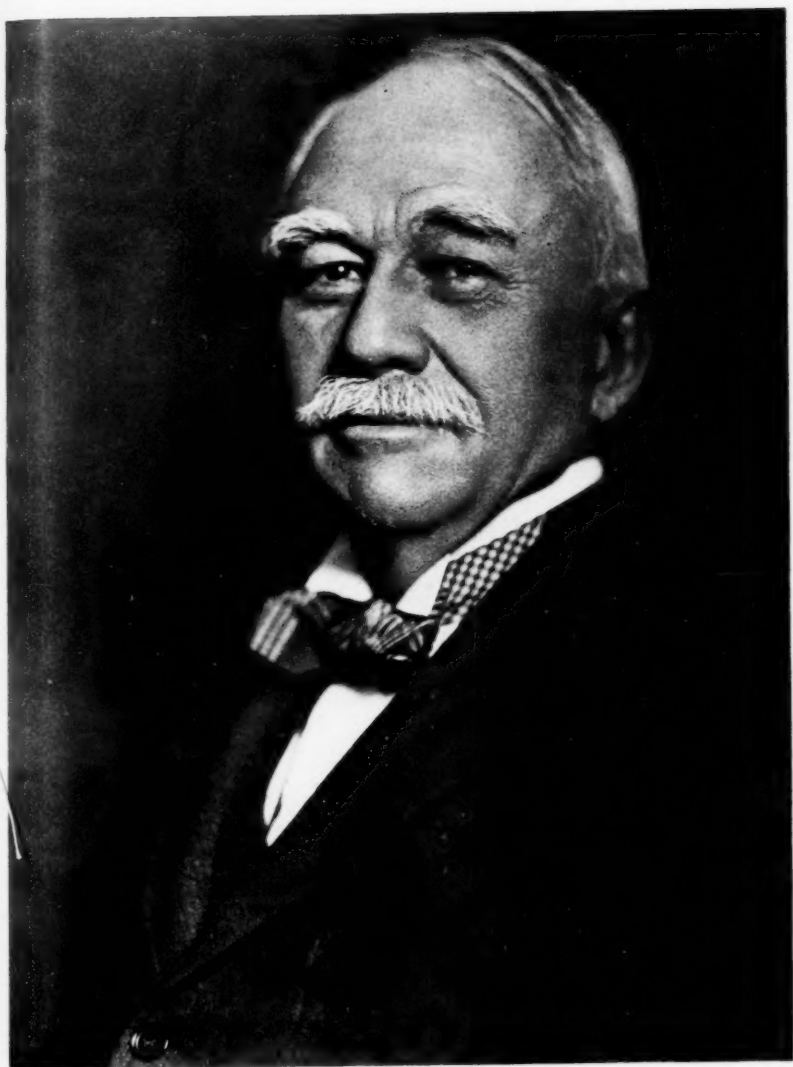
Both Henderson and Aldrich had international reputations, Henderson's having been built in the days when his newspaper criticisms were still unsigned. Due to their travels and to the research work they carried on abroad (Henderson particularly in the preparation of his volumes, "Some Forerunners of Italian Opera" and "The Early History of Singing"), both were more than ordinarily exposed to European influences in the building of their musical and cultural backgrounds. Both wrote reviews for London newspapers, Aldrich for the *Times* in the last years of his professional career; Henderson as far back as 1889, when, having just arrived in England from Italy, where he had heard one of the very early performances of Verdi's *Otello*, he was asked to review for one of the dailies the first representation of that work at Covent Garden. These were interesting adventures. But they served primarily to broaden and supplement the experience and the knowledge which these men brought in their American way to a peculiarly American task. Transplanted, Aldrich conceivably might have passed for British; but Henderson certainly would have retained a salty Americanism anywhere under the sun. And this would have been as true of his writing and of the thinking behind the writing as it would have been of his ways and his personality.

With these last survivors of their famous group as exemplars, it is possible to determine what are the essentials of this distinctly American school of criticism and to see in them a logical relation to the broader distinguishing characteristics of American journalism as a whole. Henderson liked to regard himself as first of all a newspaperman; he was a reporter—with a specialty, music; as other newspapermen were reporters with their specialties: finance, sports, politics, *et cetera*. He had, in fact, been a reporter in the truest sense of that term as understood in the newspaper city room; and he had other specialties, yachting among them. He wrote books on navigation and he wrote sea-yarns. But he did all this as a reporter. And it was as a reporter that he went to Italy and delved into musty archives for facts about forgotten singers, with the result that he was prepared to show how disproportionate were the notions to be derived about the great figures of the era of the

castrati, if one depended on Grove and other English authorities; how it was chiefly those celebrities like Farinelli, Senesino, Carestini, Caffarelli, and others who went to England in the Handelian heyday, whose names had been perpetuated, and this in a very insular fashion; whereas equally great or perhaps even greater *evirati* who had thrilled Italy at a time when Handel was not importing singers to London were virtually ignored, almost as if they never had been. Thus, the students who over a period of many years passed through his classes in the history of singing at the Institute of Musical Art learned from his lectures of the extraordinary careers and the legendary qualities of artists who were supreme in their time—but not in London or in Grove's forever invaluable "Dictionary of Music and Musicians." As Henderson himself would have viewed it, this sort of research was not musicology (the word rather amused him; if used in his presence, he invariably asked what it meant¹) but just the kind of digging expected of a good reporter. He was a celebrity in his line, and had written books on Wagner and on the symphony orchestra, when, one night at the Metropolitan Opera House, there was an accident on the stage, resulting in the injury of several members of the chorus; and when his newspaper sent reporters to the scene, it was discovered that one already had all the facts there were to get—the one who had written about Wagner and the compass of the contra-bassoon. Aldrich, too, had been a reporter in his earliest newspaper work; and though he subsequently was to be a contributor on American subjects to so erudite a publication as Grove, and was regarded among musicians as something of an encyclopædist, he never lost the news touch in his manner of shaping a review.

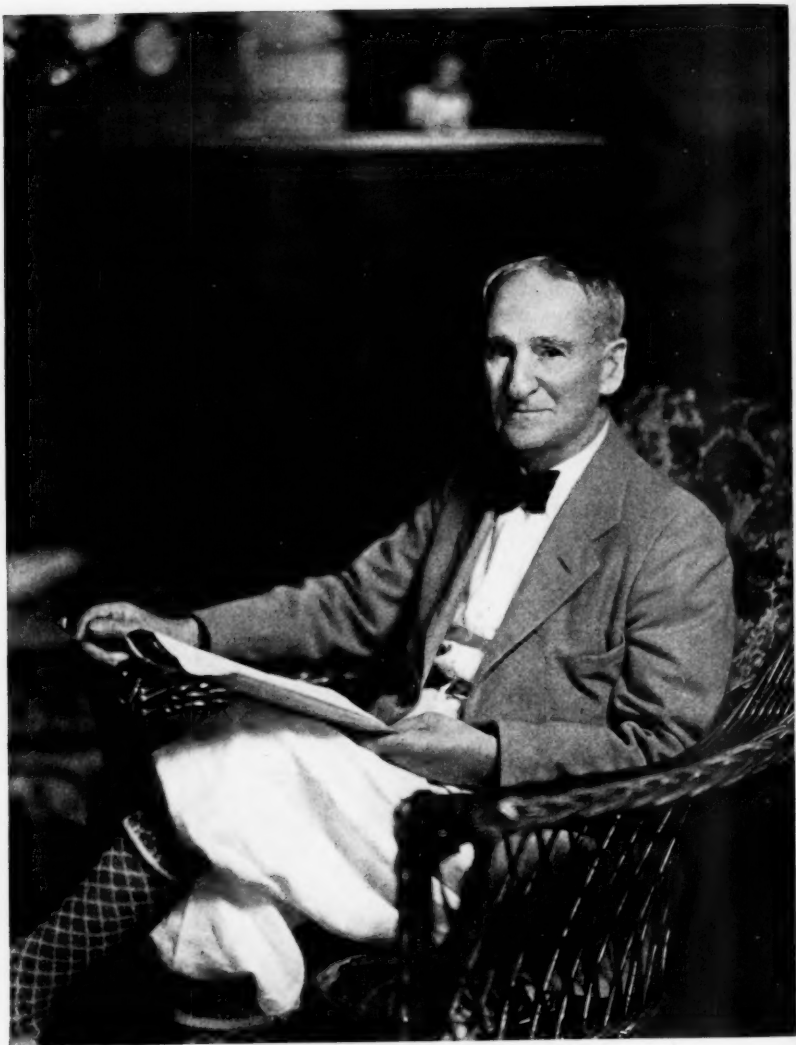
Still, it would be a mistake to regard American music criticism as primarily a species of news reporting. Perhaps more than any music criticism elsewhere in the world it was that; but it definitely was more than that. With its factual recounting of "who," "where," and "when," went as free and authoritative an expression of opinion as could be had in the critical reviews published anywhere else in the world. Certain fundamentals of sound journalism, as Americans have viewed journalism, had to be observed. The reader was not to be left in the lurch about the news facts he might want to know; as many a reader is left in Paris, for instance—never knowing in the first place whether to expect a review to appear the next day, or three days or a fortnight

¹ This alleged ignorance of Mr. Henderson's concerning what the term "musicology" meant did not prevent him from accepting membership in the recently founded American Musicological Society, nor his attending—busy man that he was—several of its meetings.—*Editor*.



Richard Aldrich

(July 31, 1863-June 2, 1937)



G. J. Henderson
(December 4, 1855-June 5, 1937)

later, and then with perhaps the date or place of the event unspecified. But these were details taken for granted; they were as much a part of the routine of the job as dotting i's and crossing t's, if the "copy" were in longhand; a newspaperman no more left out the name of the concert hall than he wrote on both sides of the paper or single-spaced when he used a typewriter. The distinction between American and European music criticism was not to be found in trifles of this kind, but in a principle of journalism which, in their small way, these self-same trifles do represent.

This principle of journalism, which runs through all departments of the American newspaper, with music criticism inevitably falling in line, is that of giving first consideration to the reader. The newspaper is for the reader, not for the writer. This may appear to be a truism so obvious as to have little or no relation to an American school of criticism. But as Henderson and Aldrich ably exemplified that school, there was a relation. Neither critic vaunted his own erudition. If a new opera of significance was staged at the Metropolitan, the reader was not required to plough through columns in which was expounded the history of opera as a phenomenon and an institution. Lest this, in turn, seem an irrelevant observation, certain reviews from the pen of the elder Korngold in Vienna may be cited as illustrating precisely what the Henderson-Aldrich reviews were not. And if an American precedent is desired, one can be found in the series of reviews which Krehbiel wrote on three successive days after the first American performance of *Tristan und Isolde*, going back to the origins of the story and arriving at a discussion of the music only on the third day.

Presumably, music criticism in every country takes a form that is in consonance with certain dominating characteristics of the national journalism of which this criticism forms a part. In America, our journalism requires directness, if not always brevity. It requires this directness in the interest of ready reading and as ready understanding. The writing of both Henderson and Aldrich was crystal clear. Neither was given to the purple patches of Huneker. They did not "write down" to their audiences, on the theory of some newspaper producers that, for circulation purposes, the public must be regarded as largely moronic. But they did write to communicate assimilable ideas, as from one intelligent person to another, rather than to exploit themselves. As Lawrence Gilman once described him, Henderson was "a mellow ironist." He believed, as he often said, "in getting some fun out of this

business," particularly in later years, when it seemed that his perpetual optimism was part and parcel of the regimen he had adopted as calculated to prolong his life. But his jests were illuminative; he never descended to the post-war variety of wise-cracking for its own sake; he was never a verbal showman exhibiting himself on a critical trapeze. As he avoided "literary" rhapsodies on the one hand, he eschewed smart-aleck banter on the other. Often he wrote with a smile, as when he dubbed the Metropolitan "*das Faustspielhaus*" and the cohorts of Geraldine Farrar "the Gerryflappers." But, at his most amusing, he was still communicating something of moment to his readers; he was not making a *prima donna* show of W. J. Henderson.

If the wit of Aldrich was less sparkling and less frequently employed in his day-to-day writing, there were times when it was asserted with a droll aptness that was the more effective because of its coming as a surprise. Typical was his comment on a piece of chamber music by a contemporary French composer. He had found something to interest him in this work. "But a Frenchman," he said, "needs an orchestra—or at least an oboe." In his sort of sly humor there was nothing that runs contrary to the contention that clarity and directness, for the reader's sake, was the goal of his writing, rather than self-revelation of the critic or exploitation of his superior fund of knowledge.

Of many European reviews, there may be reason to say that the critic has poured himself out on paper, with his university, whether Oxford or Heidelberg, thrown in for good measure. If the reader can follow him, so much the better; if he falters, that is no concern of the critic. "The Will to live," "the Will to absorb," "the Will to create," "the Will to fructify," "the Will to subdue," and so on, *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*, until one is ready for "the Will to pervert the piccolo," may not be altogether intelligible to a considerable number of Germans who never quite absorbed their Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, but that is their lookout, not the critic's.

Huneker, of course, sent multitudes of Americans to their dictionaries, and if those dictionaries were abridged, they were out of luck. Even with the bulkiest Webster at their disposal they might be left wondering what he meant by "planturous." But, as all the little Hunekers were to learn, there was room for only one such "Jim." Henderson and Aldrich went their individual ways with no thought of competing with the *bravura* of their colleague in this matter of

literary virtuosity. If they argued some point, as they often did, Huneker was their equal in a plainer and no less emphatic form of expression. To quote his observations of a healthy elder day in journalism: "Editors punched each other, wrote terrific insults and started libel suits, which usually ended before the bar—but not of justice." Once back in their sanctums they saw to it that their papers had writers, including music critics, who not only knew what they were talking about but who could write in such a way that their readers also knew.

If Henderson and Aldrich, in remaining their literary selves, made no effort to rival Huneker in critical coloratura, they also left to Finck his hobbies and to Krehbiel his inalienable right to pontificate. They did not champion favorite artists to the extent of acting as their intercessors before impresario and public; they did not pose as public morals officers or guardians of the national weal. They changed with the times—perhaps more so than their illustrious confrères. They held fast to canons of taste and standards of performance, without permitting the past so to dominate their conceptions as to handicap them in the present. Perhaps Aldrich, eight years the younger man, aged more than Henderson; he was known to have remarked, when some one told him that he ought still to be writing in the years of his retirement, that he preferred not to have to write about the kind of "modern music" then being played. Henderson apparently kept his curiosity and his open-ear for the new until the last. There were no false enthusiasms, no diatribes of disgust. In his eighties, he resolutely refused to live in the past. As a critic, he was concerned not with the yesterdays, but with each morning's new today. The man who, from personal experience, could have told the most about Jean de Reszke, when the great tenor died, contented himself with some surprisingly modest comment. Only occasionally did he turn to the so-called "Golden Age" of which he had been a part for an interesting fact or comparison in the course of his discussions of New York's latter-day opera. Even in conversation with his critical confrères, he had to be prodded before he would surrender himself to the reminiscences he stubbornly refused to put into book form, but which were the delight of any one who had the good fortune to draw him out.

During the nearly fifty years that Henderson wrote about music in New York—thirty-five as critic of the *Sun* and before that as critic or assistant critic on the *Times*—criticism as practised in this country

underwent several gradual changes. But it never found him lagging behind. In the days of his predecessors—Richard Grant White, William Henry Fry, John R. G. Hazzard, Henry C. Watson, among them—a knowledge of singing was perhaps the prime requisite for a music critic, aside from the ability to write. Though the orchestras had come up by the time Henderson began reviewing, and virtuosi of the keyboard and the bow held a place much like that they hold today, singing was still of first interest. If, in the course of time, Henderson came to be regarded as something of a specialist on the voice, it is not to be forgotten that as critic he had to deal with virtually every vocalist of importance from Patti to Flagstad. The days of Grau and Conried, with their now legendary all-star casts—consider *Les Huguenots* with Nordica, Sembrich, Jean and Edouard de Reszke, Plançon, and Mantelli; or *Don Giovanni* with Lilli Lehmann, Sembrich, Nordica, Edouard de Reszke, Salignac, and Herman Devries—were grist to his mill, as were the later enchanted nights of Caruso, Farrar, and Chaliapin, at the Metropolitan; Garden, Tetrizzini, and Renaud, at the Manhattan. At one time there was an emphasis on the technical aspects of singing that no critic would feel called upon to place, today; Henderson, himself, wrote in no such detail about tone production in his criticisms of later years. As an example of voice analysis, a review written by Henderson of Tetrizzini's first appearance at the Manhattan might astonish many newspaper readers of the present time; it enumerates the virtues and the blemishes of the lady's technical equipment down to the last embellishment, and is as masterly in its descriptive quality as it is precise in its wealth of critical detail. Henderson, Krehbiel, and Finck, were at one time rivals chiefly in their ability to evaluate such singers as Melba, Nordica, Sembrich, the de Reszkes, Plançon, and their satellites. They wrote in a day when a critic could build fame on what he said about such artists. There were, of course, the Rosenthals and the Paderewskis, the Sarasates and the Joachims, the Anton Seidls and the Theodore Thomases. But a Melba topped them all.

Henderson lived to see the conductor rise, until no singer of the day meant what a Toscanini meant in the labors of the critic. He lived also to see a new critical approach to the problem of dealing with new compositions, differing in its essentials from that which prevailed thirty-five or forty years ago. To the writer of this article he recalled the nights when he and his colleagues struggled with structural analysis

as a part of their reviews, striving to communicate to the reader something intelligible about the first theme, the second theme, the development, and other details of symphonies heard for the first time. This was on the assumption that music criticism was read chiefly by musicians who "knew," or by laymen of studious and ambitious natures, who, thirsting for culture, wanted to know. More than now, newspapers of that time regarded their special departments as for the elect of particular lines; there was much less thought of music as something of a general, perhaps even of a mass appeal. If the reviewer reached the enlightened few, and in a manner that built prestige for the paper among them, he earned his salary—which, by the bye, wasn't a large one, even as newspaper salaries went, irrespective of the aforementioned prestige.

When Aldrich, on Henderson's recommendation, succeeded Henderson as music critic of the *Times* in 1902, conditions were more what they are today, though in the twenty-two years in which he served the *Ochs* daily, the rise of the orchestras was the most significant phenomenon of America's musical life, progressing from the era of Damrosch to that of Stokowski, with Stransky leading on to Mengelberg and the new day of symphonic splendor that reached high noon at about the time of his retirement. He was less a Toscanini worshiper than some of the others; when he laid down his pen as critic it was with a gentle demurrer against the accepted religion, wherein, whosoever might be the gods, there was no prophet but Arturo.

This changed emphasis on the supremacy of the orchestra, or, more properly, the conductor, in substitution for the glorified singer, was clearly reflected in the writings of the younger men. Whether they came on the scene equipped to deal with singing as the critics of the Old Guard had dealt with it may be debatable; in their behalf it may be said that they would have dealt summarily with orchestral playing of a kind that passed muster as of ordinary, acceptable quality in the days of their elders. Still, to the Old Guard, and particularly to Henderson and Aldrich, must be attributed no small part in the shaping of the standards by means of which the orchestral public was prepared for its new day. Henderson loved to repeat the remark of a concertmaster, who, sighing over the continual emergence of new talent, including perennial prodigies of the bow, said sadly: "But Mr. Henderson, it is no longer difficult to play the violin."

So high has been the standard of personal integrity in the ranks of

American critics that it seems gratuitous to refer even in passing to the unimpeachable good name of a Henderson or an Aldrich. Yet it is a known fact that one of Henderson's predecessors on the *Times* twice lost his position for adhering to the time-honored European custom of being amenable to special remuneration for special services. Happily, his is a name that would be almost without meaning for today's generation of music patrons. Perhaps he had to exist—on the theory that without an exception there can be no test of the rule. As Henderson liked to point out, the mere fact that those who have left us records of past golden ages of song made so much of certain notable singers, lauding them for possession of the perfect scale and infallible accuracy of pitch, is to be construed as showing rather conclusively that their day had its full quota of poorly equalized scales and faulty pitch.

The pride which Richard Aldrich took in his library bespoke the man. Without ceasing to be a journalist, he was a scholar. It may be that the incentives of our later day are likely to produce critics longer on journalism than on scholarship. A tendency to ape the too-clever dramatic critics in a style of flippant journalese may have to be combated if the high standards of the Old Guard are to be maintained. Richard Aldrich as a critic emeritus continued to exercise an influence in behalf of thoughtful writing that can ill be spared. The younger generation of critics may very well have needed just such an anchor. The presence of Aldrich, even in retirement, was a steady reminder of what their attitude towards their profession should be. If not a scintillant writer to be read for a style, as the ebullient Huneker was read, he had things to say and he said them clearly and well. Always there was thought in his reviews; and he found the precise words to communicate that thought—as when he spoke of Ruffo's as "a voice of bronze." Fairness, honesty, and a complete absence of any vaunting of self at the expense of an artist or a composer were cardinal virtues of Aldrich as a critic. His reviews meet the test of re-reading years after the events with which they dealt—better, perhaps, than those of some of his seemingly more brilliant confrères. The fact-seeker finds what he wants; the opinions ring true; there are no fuss and feathers to obscure the picture of what was performed and the manner of its performance. There was something sturdy, dependable, and level-headed about Aldrich's reviewing; in season and out, over more than

two decades of honorable service, he was a critic remarkably consistent in his views; and his opinions were read from day to day for the solid oak they contained, though doubtless many a reader would have preferred a brisker style and a livelier writing personality.

An octogenarian, it still could be said of Henderson that he was the youngest writer in New York, so fresh was his style, so keen his observations, so clean-cut and penetrating the opinions he expressed. His style was at once the admiration and despair of his associates. Short, crisp sentences that clove to the heart of whatever he was discussing followed one another in logical, rhythmical succession, free of all clutter, never circuitous, yet neither curt nor laconic. From sentence to sentence, there was a building of ideas in a kind of inevitable sequence. In some manner he escaped the parenthesis, the dash, the interjection, and the detour. In every sentence was enucleated some definite idea, and he proceeded from idea to idea as one ascends or descends a flight of steps. It was as if, through long study and practice, he had rid the art of writing of its last, lingering vestiges of friction. In his typing he had an odd way of running off the page at the right margin and having to fill in with pencil or pen the final letters of the last word of each line. Otherwise his corrections and interlineations were reduced to a minimum. Partly as a concession to his years, he made it a point to have all "copy" finished at an unusually early hour—say 10:30 or 11 at night, instead of midnight or later, as was true of "copy" for the other afternoon papers. Gagsters remarked that whereas other departments had a "deadline," the *Sun's* was a "bedline." This was not, however, quite the straight of it. When the "copy" was all in hand, there was something like an hour of free-for-all chat between Henderson and his assistants, ranging from the events of the day back to the Mapleson tenor who had nothing but a high C, which he prolonged in *Di quella pira* while he walked slowly from the back of the stage to the footlights—that is, if the assistants were so lucky as to be able to divert their chief from the present to the past.

Though ordinarily Henderson, particularly in his later years, was a man of moderation in the wording of his reviews, he was little given to the gentle art of praising with faint damns. He believed that the only constructive criticism was positive criticism, whether favorable or unfavorable to the artist or the music discussed. He was by no means satisfied that the profession was over-severe. To the contrary, he was

inclined to think that there was too much coddling of mediocrity. On this point, the following quotation from one of his Saturday discourses is of ponderable import:

After many years of experience in musical criticism, the writer is convinced that nothing is so reprehensible as the encouragement of young people without talent. . . . If newspaper criticism went after debutants with an axe there might be something to say about its evil effects; but it does not do that. It goes after them with bouquets and works incalculable harm—far more than it could with a bludgeon. Brutal criticism reacts upon itself; facile flattery persuades mediocrity that it will do well to spend more dollars in hiring halls and managers. . . . Severe criticism is reserved for the great personages of the musical world. No debutant is ever belabored as Mr. Toscanini, or Mr. Paderewski or Miss Ponselle is. When the great do not sustain the level of their greatness, either grief or rage or both spring up in the critical breast and the English language gets some considerable exercise.

Often it got some considerable exercise from those who wrote to the *Sun* or to its musical editor to quarrel with Henderson's opinions. The critic particularly relished one letter which, beginning coherently and in a fairly courteous manner, became more and more denunciative as it proceeded, with indications that perhaps the writer had stopped to refresh himself with strong spirits at intervals, and ended with this annihilating invective: "Thank God, you're old enough to be dead, you old peacock with green feathers in your tail!" If of reasonable length and not so abusive as to violate the laws of libel, letters of complaint were published with a certain relish by Henderson, sometimes with just a line of comment or of explanation that may have been discomfiting to the complainant but served elsewhere to convert the day's wrath into a chuckle. As an instance, when an exasperated admirer of Rosa Ponselle's Violetta sought to imply that Henderson's criticisms were prompted by partiality towards another singer, his communication was given a two-word addendum that completely took the wind from his sails. "Come now," ran the letter, "which do you prefer, Ponselle's *Traviata* or Bori's?" To which Henderson affixed: "Neither. Verdi's."

Uncompromising as were his critical standards, he was an essentially kindly and neighborly soul, forever affable in the company of junior members of the profession and apparently oblivious to any difference of position between himself and some other critic's second or third assistant. He was a rare combination of literary man, journalist, and musician, with a background as rich and varied as has been possessed

by any American laborer in the field of the arts. The writer of these lines believes that W. J. Henderson was the greatest music critic America has produced, though Henderson, himself, waved that distinction on to Krehbiel. Others, of course, may award the palm to Philip Hale or Jim Huneke. One seasoned critic of today would give the preference over all to Apthorp. Happily there is no need for such a choice. It is enough to believe that Henderson and Aldrich, as fitting representatives for all, influenced the whole course of America's music in ways that are incalculable. And they have done this as Americans, writing for American readers in an essentially American way.

OCKEGHEM'S CLEFLESS COMPOSITIONS¹

By JOSEPH S. LEVITAN

JOHANNES OCKEGHEM (c. 1430-95) wrote two compositions, the *Fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron* and the *Missa cujusvis toni*, that are highly interesting from the standpoint of notation. The mass is entirely without clefs, and the fugue has at the beginning, besides the time-signature, only a group of flats and sharps. According to Glareanus, the works belong to the class of *catholica*, which means that they may be sung in various ecclesiastical modes at the discretion of the singers, provided the ratio or the relation of the harmony and of the consonances be observed.² Owing to their originality these compositions have been printed quite frequently. Sebald Heyden, Glareanus, Gregorius Faber, and Ambrosius Wilphlingseder have included one or both of them—the mass in fragment—in their musical treatises. Furthermore, the works are found, either singly or together and not always complete, as examples to illustrate Ockeghem's style in the music histories of Hawkins, Forkel, Busby, Kiesewetter, Ambros, Fröhlich, F. L. Ritter, Wooldridge, Amintore Galli, Riemann, and Peter Wagner. This includes almost all the important historical works on music written since the end of the XVIIIth century. Some of the authors have attempted to resolve the compositions, but without success. More than a century ago Forkel³ stated that the canon⁴ had puzzled a good many learned heads. It has continued to do so up to the present day. One may add that the solution of the mass has been almost as puzzling. In spite of many attempts, the last word has not yet been spoken. It is, therefore, the aim and purpose of this paper to solve both riddles once and for all. Since the two com-

¹ This paper was read for the first time before the Washington-Baltimore Chapter of the American Musicological Society, April 25, 1936. Because of the author's inability to attend the meeting, the actual reading was done by Dr. Harold Spivacke.

² Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basle, 1547), p. 454: *Καθολικά in cantu, hoc est, Cantiones instituere, quæ multis cantarentur modis ad cantorum propæmodum arbitrium, ita tamen, ut Harmoniæ ac consonantiarum ratio nihilo secius observaretur.*

³ *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II (1801), p. 529.

⁴ The words canon and fugue, which refer to two very distinct forms today, were, in Ockeghem's time, used to designate the same thing.

positions do not offer exactly the same problem, they will be examined and resolved separately.



The first to be treated will be the *Fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron*.

This canon was first printed in Petrucci's *Canti cento cinquanta* (1503).⁵ It bears the title *Prennez sur moy fuga*, which signifies that the melody was derived from a French *chanson*. It is written as a canon in one voice or part, as the following example shows:



Sebald Heyden,⁷ Glareanus,⁸ Gregorius Faber,⁹ Ambrosius Wilphling-seder,¹⁰ and Jacob Paix¹¹ reprinted this example and designated it as a *Fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron post perfectum tempus*. Heyden furthermore explains that it is an *Exemplum cantus ficti sive h mollis iste fuerit, sive h duri*.¹² In addition, in his treatise the piece shows a row of solmisation syllables for each signature. These points are highly important, for they give the clue to the correct solution.

⁵ Fol. 167b (last page of music). I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Robert Haas of Vienna for this information.

⁶ In the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus, the placing of the sharps is entirely wrong. This is true also in the histories of Hawkins, Burney, Forkel, and others who transcribe from him. The sharps, as well as the flats, are incorrectly placed in Riemann's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2d. ed., vol. II¹ (1920), p. 235, owing, no doubt, to a misprint.

⁷ *Ars canendi* (Nuremberg, 1537), p. 34.

⁸ *Dodecachordon*, p. 454.

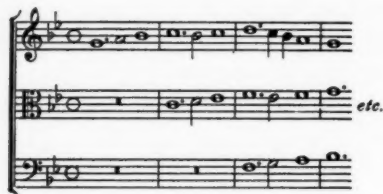
⁹ *Musices practicae erotematum* (Basle, 1553), pp. 152f.

¹⁰ *Erotemata musices practicae* (Nuremberg, 1563), pp. 57f.

¹¹ *Selectae artificiosae et elegantes fugae* (Lauingen, 1590), fol. B2^{ro}f.

¹² Heyden, *Ars canendi*, p. 34. "An example of *cantus fictus* which may be performed with either flats or sharps."

It appears that Ambrosius Wilphlingseder¹³ was the first to attempt a solution of the canon. This was accepted by Hawkins and was published in his "History of Music."¹⁴ Although the title as given by Wilphlingseder himself explicitly mentions perfect time (*tempus perfectum* ■ : ♦♦♦), he chose, contrary to all indications, to transcribe the piece in imperfect time (*tempus imperfectum* ■ : ♦♦). His error, preserved by Hawkins, is corrected in Burney's resolution, which begins as follows:¹⁵



This solution, which agrees with that found in Wilphlingseder and Hawkins in all other respects, is found in the musical histories of Forkel,¹⁶ Busby,¹⁷ Kiesewetter,¹⁸ and Fröhlich.¹⁹ Forkel, although printing it, claims that it is not free from error. He declares that Burney, contrary to Ockeghem's indications requiring that the three parts follow one another in the perfect fourth above (*epidiatessaron*), has placed them in the perfect fifth below, yet—consistent with the wrong interval but not with the downward direction that he has chosen—has written *epidiapente* under the canon instead of *epidiatessaron*. "If this canon," Forkel explains, "is to be resolved according to the composer's indications, the upper part must be converted into the lower, and the lower into the upper."²⁰ In other words, the bass must be performed an octave higher, and the soprano an octave lower. That Forkel is entirely correct in interpreting the prefix *epi* in the sense of "above,"²¹ the following

¹³ *Erotemata musices practicæ*, pp. 58ff.

¹⁴ Vol. II (1776), pp. 471ff; edition of 1875, vol. I, pp. 338f.

¹⁵ "A General History of Music," vol. II (1782), pp. 475ff; recent edition (1935), vol. I, pp. 729f.

¹⁶ *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II, p. 530ff.

¹⁷ "A General History of Music" (London, 1819), vol. I, p. 430ff; German edition (1821), vol. I, pp. 439ff.

¹⁸ *Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst* (Amsterdam, 1829), Appendix, pp. 22ff.

¹⁹ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik* (Würzburg, 1874), vol. II, pp. 122f.

²⁰ *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II, p. 533. See the footnote by the editor, Frank Mercer, in vol. I, p. 728, of the new edition of Burney's "History of Music."

²¹ The prefix is erroneously defined in the histories of Hawkins (s. vol. II, p. 470), Burney (s. vol. II, 474), and Busby (s. vol. I, p. 428).

definition from Martin Agricola's *Musica figuralis deudsch* will confirm: *Epidiatessaron heist die Quarta darüber; Subdiatessaron, die Quarta darunder* ("Epidiatessaron means the fourth above; Subdiatessaron the fourth below").²² In Heinrich Faber's *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (1550) the same definition is found in Latin. *In hyper vel epi Diatessaron supra in quarta; in hypo vel sub Diatessaron hoc est infra in quarta*. Forkel, then, was quite justified in his criticism.²³ However, it remained for Fétis to bring forward a passage sustaining Forkel's contention.²⁴ The passage is one from Gregorius Faber's *Musices Practicae*, and it explains, among other things, that the second voice in this canon begins in the fourth above after the *tempus perfectum*, and the third voice in the minor seventh after two *tempora*.²⁵ With this quotation, Fétis settled conclusively all questions pertaining to the succession of the parts. His solution appeared—in fragment, however—first in an essay in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* (1840)²⁶ and later in the second edition of his *Biographie universelle*.²⁷ Here are the first few measures:



This solution worked out in full is found in F. L. Ritter's "History of Music."²⁸

Forkel and Fétis appear not to have seen the resolution of Jacob Paix, published at the close of the XVIth century. Here the two upper parts

²² Wittemberg, 1532, fol. E iiii^{ro}. Compare also the parallel passage in Laurentius Ribovius' *Enchiridion musicum* (Königsberg, 1638), p. 114: *Wenn aber darüber [einer Fugen] Hyper vel Epi Diatessaron steht, da müssen die anderen Stimmen eine Quart höher als die erste Stimme anfahren*. He defines *Hypo vel Sub* as "lower."

²³ Burney should not bear all the blame, however. The error, as we have seen, goes back to Wilphlingseder.

²⁴ See the article on Ockeghem in his *Biographie universelle*. The passage appears in both the first and second editions.

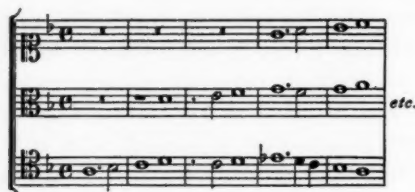
²⁵ Faber, *Musices practicae*, p. 152. *Secunda autem pars in Epidiatessaron post unum tempus perfectum, tertia in semiditono cum diapente perfecta superne post duo tempora incipit.*

²⁶ P. 159. Cf. also Fétis's *Esquisse de l'histoire de l'harmonie* (1841), p. 28.

²⁷ Cf. the article on Ockeghem, vol. VI (Paris, 1864), pp. 363f. In the first edition the example is missing.

²⁸ London, 1880, Appendix, pp. 4ff; American edition (Boston, 1884), pp. 88f.

enter with the correct interval of a perfect fourth, as this quotation shows:²⁹



Of the versions discussed so far, only that of Fétis is resolved according to the instruction: *in epidiatessaron post perfectum tempus*. However, we cannot regard this resolution as wholly correct, because Fétis failed to take into consideration the flats and sharps clearly notated in the signature of the original example. For this reason, the credit sometimes given him for solving the problem must unfortunately be declared excessive.³⁰ In the version given by Kade in Ambros' *Geschichte*,³¹ the voices commence as in Paix's example. But Kade omits the signature and—correctly—substitutes *tempus perfectum* for the *tempus imperfectum diminutum* used by Paix. Knud Jeppesen in his *Kopenhagener Chansonnier*³² follows Kade. The resolution of Peter Bohn, given in his German edition of Glareanus' *Dodecachordon*,³³ is the version of Burney with the correction recommended by Forkel;³⁴ that is, the composition has two flats in the signature, and begins with G³⁵ in the bass, c in the tenor, and f in the cantus. Wooldridge³⁶ and recently Finney³⁷ have reprinted this resolution. Riemann in his *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*³⁸ recommends six different combinations of clefs. Although the notes correspond with those in the original, each voice beginning on the third line of the staff, most of these resolutions do not follow

²⁹ *Selectæ artificiosæ et elegantes fugæ*, fol. 3^{ro}.

³⁰ Cf. Ambros, *Geschichte*, vol. III, p. 180; Grove's Dictionary, Art: Okeghem; and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Art: Okeghem (by Bäumker).

³¹ Vol. V, pp. 18f. Cf. Kade's remarks, p. xviii. See also vol. III, p. 180.

³² Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1927, pp. 62f.

³³ This edition of the *Dodecachordon* is published in the series, *Publikationen älterer praktischen und theoretischen Musikwerke* (Leipzig, 1888), vol. 16. The composition in question is on pp. 410f.

³⁴ See above, p. 442.

³⁵ The alphabetical notation used throughout this article is that of the Middle Ages, i.e., Γ A (Bb) B C D E F G a b c d e f g a' b' c' d' e', corresponding with the scale G to e³ in our modern notation.

³⁶ "Oxford History of Music" (Oxford, 1905), vol. II, pp. 215f.

³⁷ "History of Music" (New York, 1935), p. 134.

³⁸ Leipzig, 1878, p. 92.

Clearly, the solution of this canon has caused much difficulty and perplexed many minds. Yet even so there is no unanimously recognized solution. The work appears to have been resolved almost at pleasure. While the versions of Bohn, of Riemann, and of Droz and Thibault all start on G, the signatures of no two agree. And, although Heyden expressly states that the work is an example of *cantus fictus*, i.e., a composition having one or more sharps or more than one flat in the signature,⁴¹ it is treated as such only in Peter Bohn's version (= Wooldridge's = Finney's).⁴² To offset this, however, the notes of Bohn's lower voice do not agree with the solmisation syllables given in Heyden's example.⁴³ Correctness in the choice of both clef and signature in this resolution must, therefore, be doubted. The beginning of the melody with the solmisation syllables appears in Heyden's example as follows:⁴⁴




³⁹ Vol. II¹, 2d. ed., pp. 236ff.

⁴¹ The reason for this is that the Guidonian Hand or mediæval system contained one flat. (Cf. the scale given in footnote 35). All chromatic tones falling outside this system were considered by the old theorists as belonging to *musica falsa* or *musica ficta*. The subject is fully treated in my article on Adrian Willaert's *Quidnam ebrietas*, which will appear in an early issue of the *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*.

⁴⁸ The notes would agree with the syllables if the soprano clef were used for the bass and this part performed an octave lower. Cf. Row F5 in the table on p. 447.

⁴⁵ Riemann in his *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 2d. ed. (1920), p. 359, purports to present example according to Heyden, but places the sharps as they appear in the incorrect signature Glareanus' example and then shifts the syllables accordingly.

Laurentius Ribovius' *Enchiridion musicum*. It contains all the various clefs and signatures up to two sharps and three flats, with their corresponding solmisation syllables. Accompanying this table is a rather lengthy explanation. In this Ribovius states⁴⁶ that the pupil will find the table most useful, first in learning how the syllables are performed to all the various clefs found both in *cantus durus*, that is, in an untransposed composition (see Row 1 below), and in *cantus mollis*, that is, in a singly transposed one (see Row 2). In the former, *mi* is always placed on \flat , and the other syllables are assigned their positions in relation to it; in the latter, *fa* always falls on \flat , and the other syllables find their bearings in relation to that. Ribovius explains furthermore that, besides showing how *cantus mollis* and *cantus durus* resemble one another in solmisation, his table displays all the signatures of *cantus fictus*, whether with sharps or flats, so far—he adds—as he has seen them in vocal or instrumental music, and that therefore the table should be most useful and helpful from the practical viewpoint to both singer and instrumentalist in performing music written in any signature of *cantus fictus*. He ends his explanation by declaring that the table is of further interest because all transpositions can easily be recognized with its aid, as, for example, the usual and regular transposition, *cantus durus in cantus mollis*, that is, a transposition a fifth lower or a fourth higher, as the case may be (*i.e.*, from the clefs listed under Row 1 to those listed under Row 2), and

⁴⁶ Since his book is very rare, the text is here given in full: "Die nachgesetzte Tabella kan dazu dienen/dass ein Knabe erstlich ersichet wie in allen Arten *Clavium Signatarum Cantus duri* (welche sub num: 1. hinabwärts stehen) die *Voces Musicales* fortgeführt werden/nach anweisung deren *Vocum Musicalium*, so zu ende jeglicher Systematum gesetzt seyn/unnd sich in *Cantu duro* nach dem *Mi*, welches allzeit in demselbigen *Cantu duro* in  (h) zu befinden

ist/richten: wie auch ebenmessig welcher gestalt dieselbige *Voces in Cantu molli* (dessen Clavirungen in der Reige sub num: 2. stehen) nach anweisung dess allezeit ins \flat gesetzten *Fa*, auff- und abgeleitet werden/inmassen solches auch oben pag. 7.8. zu befinden.

"Ferner zeigt diese Tabell, wie nicht allein *Cantus mollis* unn *durus* eine gleichheit der Solmisation mit einander haben/sondern auch eine jegliche Art der *Clavium fictarum*, sol wol durē als *molliter* (so viel ich annoch derer beides in Vocal- unnd Instrumental Musicken gesehen) auff eine dem Knaben/Singer oder Instrumentisten/bekante Signatur unn Clavirung richtig kan solmisiret werden. Wie auch zusehen/pag. 44.45.183.184.185. Welches denn/Drittens auch die Instrumentisten in den *Cantibus fictis* sehr sicher machen wird/wenn sie die Solmisation im Sinne haben/unnd leicht hören ob jede Secund, Tertz, Quart, *etc.* ein Tonus, oder Semitonium, ein majus oder minus Intervallum ist.

"Nebenst diesem/und fürs vierdte/seyn auss dieser Tabellen, alle Transpositiones augenscheinlich zuersehen: zum Exempel/die *ordinaria* und gemeinste *transpositio Cantus duri in mollem per quintam inferiorem*, vor der Zeile sub. num. 1. in die andere sub. num: 2. und *vice versa*: und dan die andere in *quartam inferiorem* vor den Clavirungen sub. num. 1. in die sub. num. 3. und so fortan die andern." (Ribovius, *Enchiridion musicum*, pp. 242ff). I wish to thank the authorities of the Leipzig Municipal Library for the use of this book, which belongs to the rich Karl Ferdinand Becker Collection.

vice versa; or the transposition a fourth lower or a fifth higher (*i.e.*, from the clefs given under No. 1 to those given under No. 3), *etc.* This table of Ribovius, which is highly important for the solution of all questions pertaining to clefs in the music of the Renaissance, follows below.

In addition to this table we offer a very original diagram from Ramis's *Musica practica*, which will likewise prove useful in the solution of our problem. The fact that it derives from the same period as does this canon of Ockeghem's makes it that much more valuable for our purposes. It presents the mediæval gamut or system, commencing with Γ, and two similarly constructed scales a whole-tone higher and lower.⁴⁷ The two transposed scales belong to *musica ficta* and will, therefore, form the basis for our solution. Ramis's diagram follows:

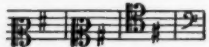
	A	B	C#	D	E	F#	G	a	h	c	c#	d	e	f#	g	a'	h'	c'	c#'	d'	e'	f#'																			
	r	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	h	c	d	e	f	g	a'	b'	h'	c'	d'	e'																			
	-f	r	A	B	b	C	D	E	b	F	G	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	b	f	g	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	b	f	g	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	b	f	g
	[digamma]																																								
<i>Hexachordum durum</i>	ut re mi fa sol la					ut re					mi fa sol la					ut re					mi fa sol la																				
<i>Hexachordum naturale</i>						ut re mi fa sol la										ut re mi fa sol la																									
<i>Hexachordum molle</i>											ut re mi					fa sol la					ut re mi					fa sol la															

⁴⁷ Cf. Ramis, *Musica practica* (1492), ed. Johannes Wolf (Leipzig, 1901), p. 35, fig. 4.

In the table of Ribovius the syllables of Rows F and C correspond to those found in Heyden's example. (First read Ribovius's lower right-hand series backwards; then read his upper left-hand series forwards.) If we compare the rows of syllables appearing in Heyden with the diagram of Ramis, we find that the first row represents the scale E \flat F G a \flat b c d e \flat f g and the second row, the scale D E F \sharp G a b c \sharp d e f \sharp , which answer to the signatures of F6 and C4, respectively, in the table of Ribovius. The only other signatures in Rows F and C, presenting the flats and sharps notated at the beginning of the canon and answering to *musica ficta*, are those shown in F5 and C3. The first is obtained by transposing the original mediæval system a fourth higher instead of a whole-tone lower,⁴⁸ and the second by transposing the system a fourth lower instead of a whole-tone higher. In other words, these signatures are based on the transposed systems starting with C and D, instead of with f and A. Which set of signatures did Ockeghem intend the canon to have? Was it to have the double signature of three flats and two sharps, found in F6 and C4, or that of two flats and one sharp given in F5 and C3?⁴⁹ Ockeghem's having placed two flats and two sharps on single lines gives the clue to the answer. The flats are found on the fourth line; the sharps, on the second. In F5 the fourth line is the position of b', and in C3 the second line is the position of b' in the G clef and of B in the F clef. If the signatures of F5 and C3 were intended, the placing of two flats and two sharps on these particular lines to designate these tones would have been quite unnecessary. A single flat and a single sharp would have been sufficient, for in early music these tones were

⁴⁸ The resulting scale is b c d e f g a' b' c' d'. This series is found also in the transposed system starting with f. The tone a' in the f system, however, is disjunct and therefore *mi* of the *hexachordum durum*. This would not conform with the explanation *scala b mollis ficti*, placed under this signature by Heyden. It is for this reason that a transposition of the system is necessary. See Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 2d. ed., p. 358.

⁴⁹ C3 has only one sharp in the signature, whereas the canon shows the sharp in two places (the second and fourth lines). The old practice of placing b in the signature as a warning sign where the performer might be misled into singing or playing b will account for the further sharp. There are quite a few examples of this in Martin Agricola's *Ein Kurtz Deutsche Musica* (1528). Cf. *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, VII¹ (= vol. 14), pp. xxiii f. One version of the *Se la jace ay pale* of Dufay shows both F \sharp and b in the signature, but in different voices or parts,

thus: . (See DTÖ, vol. 14, pp. 252ff; but cf. also pp. xxiv and 57.)

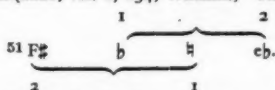
Nicolaus de Capua, *Compendium*, ed. Lafage, p. 33, gives the fifth b-f \sharp in the following manner:



represented not only in the signatures, but as clefs.⁵⁰ This eliminates the possibility of F₅ and C₃. Only F₆ and C₄ remain. According to these two signatures, the lines bearing a duplicated chromatic sign in the original represent *c fa fictum* (c \flat) and *F mi fictum* (F \sharp). The reason for indicating these tones thus is not hard to guess. The duplication was used to symbolize the second position of each sign—flat and sharp—in the circle of fifths (or, if inverted, fourths) from \flat and \sharp .⁵¹ As is common knowledge, the chromatic signs of the flat and sharp (also natural)⁵² came originally from \flat *rotundum* and \sharp *quadratum*, the signs for \flat *fa* and \sharp *mi*, respectively.⁵³ Because of the special indications for c \flat and F \sharp , this composition cannot in the true sense of the word be called clefless.⁵⁴ Ockeghem's real reason for writing the signatures as he did was his desire for simplicity and clearness. These qualities were especially necessary as the signature was a double one and, moreover, the canon was in *cantus fictus*. Even with the double signature the MI and FA stand out clearly and distinctly. Whether from the standpoint of notation or performance, these tones were considered the all-important ones in early music. *Mi et fa sunt tota musica*.

Another point must be explained. In modern notation the canon calls for the double signature of alto clef with three flats and tenor clef with two sharps. But, in the signature of the original, the three-flat version has flats only before e and A. According to the practice of Ockeghem's time and even until the beginning of the XVIIIth century

⁵⁰ Cf. "Musical Notation of the Middle Ages" (Publication of the Plainsong and Medieval Musical Society, 1890), Plate IX; *Paléographie musicale*, vol. III, Plate 196; P. Aubry, *Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française* (Paris, 1905), Plate III; Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, vol. 1, 134; Williams, "The Story of Notation," p. 83.

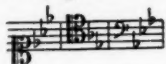


⁵² The sharp and natural were considered for a long time as identical. They were both used to raise a natural note chromatically by a semitone. Such altered notes were sung as MI. Martin Agricola in his *Deutsche Musica* (fol. xvi^v) states: *Auch sol er [der Snger] vleissig achtung haben auf das b und h . Denn das erste wo er gesetzt wird, bedeuten fa, die anderen zwey bedeuten mi*. See Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Max Hesses Verlag), 128; Grove's "Dictionary," Art: *Notation*; Williams, "Notation," p. 117.

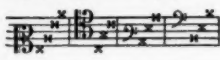
⁵³ The old theorists emphasized this fact in the definition of *musica falsa* or *musica ficta*. Cf. Anonymus II in Cousse-maker, *Scriptores* I, p. 312a; Johannes de Grocheo, ed. Wolf, in *Sammelbnde der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, vol. I, p. 88; Marchettus in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, III, p. 135a; Uginolo de Orvieto, ed. Lafage in his *Diphthrographie musicale* (1864), p. 157; Ornithoparchus, *Musicae active micrologus*, cap. 10, fol. 38^{ro}.

⁵⁴ It is designated clefless by Forkel (*Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 534), Ambros (*Geschichte*, vol. III, p. 180), Eitner (*Musik-Sammelwerke*, p. 757), Riemann (*Handbuch*, vol. II¹, p. 235).

—that is, as long as solmisation was taught and practised—the singer had only to know the position of the semitone on the staff, *i.e.*, the *mi-fa*, and everything else followed naturally and easily. Hothby in his *Calliopea legale*⁵⁵ declares: "In singing one must direct one's attention to the *principe* [principal tone = *mi*] and *comite* [companion = *fa*] . . . When *principe* and *comite* are found, it follows that the other official names of the same series or hexachord can be determined very easily." In an example of *cantus fictus*, Heinrich Faber gives the signature of the

three voices in the following manner:  ⁵⁶. The flats

indicate here the various positions of *fa*, *i.e.*, E \flat (and, correspondingly, e \flat and e \flat ') and A \flat (with, correspondingly, a \flat and a \flat '). In modern notation this composition would have a signature of three flats. A so-called *fantasia* by Annibale Padovano, printed in his *Primo libro de ricercari* (1556),⁵⁷ gives the various positions of *mi*, *i.e.*, C \sharp (and, correspondingly, c \sharp and c \sharp ') and F \sharp (with, correspondingly, G \sharp and g \sharp '),

thus:  which, according to modern practice, would call for three sharps.

The solution of Ockeghem's riddle-canon is given in the following example. The application of accidentals to the version with two sharps presents difficulties. For this reason they are given throughout and stand above the notes they affect. In the version with three flats the only accidental necessary is a natural over the a \flat ' in measure 34.

Prennez sur moy Fuga trium vocum in Epidiatessaron

Ockeghem



⁵⁵ Ed. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (1852), p. 307, and Raimund Schlecht in *Cécilia* (1874), p. 46.

⁵⁶ *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (1550), *pars I*, *cap. 4*. Cf. also the example, *pars I*, *cap. 3* = Lossius, *Erotemata musicae practicae* (1563), fol. Ciiij^{ro}. An interesting example is also in Agricola, *Ein Kurtz Deutsche Musica*, fol. XV^{ro}f. See Johann Zanger, *Practica musicae praecepta* (1554), fol. Diij.

⁵⁷ The Royal College of Music at London has a copy of this work.

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This composition is not without a certain charm and beauty, and in spite of a few chords without third it is surprisingly agreeable harmonically. Especially worthy of attention is the contrasting effect produced by the two versions. The version with three flats is Mixolydian; that with two sharps, Lydian.⁵⁸ The translations of Kade = Jeppesen and Bohn = Wooldridge = Finney are also Mixolydian, the former untransposed and the latter doubly transposed (*i.e.*, with two flats in the signature).⁵⁹ The resolution of Droz and Thibault appears to be Lydian. However, because of the use of a flat as an accidental throughout, it tends more towards the transposed Ionian, differing very little from Riemann's resolution, which has the flat at the signature. Although the resolutions of Kade and Bohn are in the same mode as one of our versions, it is quite apparent that these two scholars did not approach the problem from the original notation. Glareanus states that this composition is an example of the *catholica*, as is clearly shown by the double signature. In spite of this, however, no solution gives more than one version. Our raising the whole question once more, then, is not without its justification.


As indicated above, the placing of the accidentals is most difficult. The great majority were added to avoid *mi contra fa*. By their means, for example, the leap of the augmented fourth in measures 9, 24, and 29 (upper voice) and in 16-17 and 25-26 (middle voice) and the diminished fifth in measure 23 are corrected to perfect intervals of the same general name. In measures 21 and 24, we changed the defective fifths between the outer voices into perfect ones, by adding naturals. On the other hand, we did not think it necessary to correct the diminished fifths in measures 6, 12, 13, 26, and 32, because, as is generally known, such an interval, when a middle voice entered into its making, was not foreign to the practice of Ockeghem's time.⁶⁰ The accidentals in measures 4, 14, 19, 22,

⁵⁸ Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift* (1878), p. 57, speaks of three sharps; Wooldridge, "Oxford History of Music," vol. II, p. 64, of a choice between two flats and two sharps; and Finney, "History of Music," p. 133, of the possibility of any signature to three flats or three sharps. Cf. also Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. II¹, p. 235.

⁵⁹ Wooldridge, "Oxford History of Music," vol. II, p. 213, and Finney, "History of Music," p. 133, incorrectly describe their version as a twice transposed Aeolian. This slip is due, no doubt, to the fact that they regarded G, the first note, instead of F, the fundamental note of the closing chord, as tonic.

⁶⁰ See Tinctoris, *De arte contrapuncti*, lib. II, cap. XXXIII and XXXIX (Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, IV, pp. 146f). The passage from Faugues' mass, *Le serviteur*, quoted by Tinctoris, stands note for note in a mass of the same name ascribed to Ockeghem in Trent Codex 88 (new edition in score in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XIX¹ [= vol. 38], pp. 104f., measures 160-170, facsimile, p. 86). Is there sufficient ground, on the authority of Tinctoris, to deny Ockeghem to have been the true composer of this work?—After I had written this, it was brought to my attention that Heinrich Bessler (see Plamenac, *Ockeghem's Werke*, p. xiv) and Karl Dèzes

and 33, were added in accordance with the rule: *Una nota super la semper canendum fa*. The closing double note in the lower voice does not indicate a ligature as Kade, Riemann, and Jeppesen have thought; the upper tone supplies the otherwise missing fifth of the closing chord.⁶¹ A final chord with fifth, but without third, is characteristic of the music of this time.

With our equal temperament, it is possible to sing or play both versions at the same pitch level, if, for example, one follows a notation using the barytone clef and a double signature of four flats and five sharps, thus: , or one using a tenor clef with the

double signature of three flats and six sharps. The syllables here, as we see, would correspond with those given in Heyden's example. However, we mention these only as modern possibilities for practical performance. The transpositions possible at the time of Ockeghem went as far as those to three flats and two sharps: the tables of Ramis,⁶² Virdung,⁶³ Ornithoparchus,⁶⁴ and Martin Agricola⁶⁵ contain only five chromatic tones, namely C#, Eb, F#, ab, and b, with their octaves.⁶⁶

(see *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 10, p. 346) had previously raised this point. In the new edition, in spite of the testimony of Tinctoris, the diminished fifth is "corrected" to a perfect one. The fragment from Caron's *Hellas*, which is quoted in the same work of Tinctoris, is found in the new edition of this composition in *DTÖ VII*¹ (= vol. 14), p. 249, measures 42-46. Concerning the question of *mi contra fa* compare further, Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, vol. 1, pp. 433f; Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*; 2d. ed., pp. 379f; and the recent essay by Ruth Hannas, "Cérone, Philosopher and Teacher," in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. XXI (1935), pp. 414ff. See also Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. II¹, 2d. ed., pp. 41f.

⁶¹ See the interesting example in Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deutsch* (1528), Table 2 to fol. XXV^{vo}. (Eitner's ed. Table 2 to p. 50). Cf., furthermore, Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, IV, pp. 75b and 97a; *DTÖ VII*¹ (= vol. 14), pp. 148, 149, 151, 158, 234, and 256; id; XI¹ (= vol. 21), p. 104; Stainer, *Dufay and his Contemporaries* (1898), p. 131; Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem's Sämtliche Werke* (1927), pp. 30, 33, 40, 52, 58, 113, and 123; Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, vol. I, pp. 387, 404, 409, and vol. II, pp. 11, 82, 83, 108, 116, and 117; Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. II¹, pp. 47f; Viktor Lederer, *Heimat und Ursprung der Mehrstimmigkeit* (1906), pp. 261ff. and 275f. See the unsuccessful close in the resolution of Droz and Thibault. The points of entrance and close of the two upper parts are clearly marked in the original example (see above, p. 441).

⁶² *Musica practica* (1492), ed. Wolf (1901), pp. 35f. Cf. also Anonymus XI, Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, III, p. 427b. See Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*, vol. I, p. 119.

⁶³ *Musica getuscht* (1511), ff. F iiiiv^{of}.

⁶⁴ *Musice active micrologus* (1517), cap. 10 = Angelo da Pictono, *Fior angelico* (1547), cap. 29.

⁶⁵ *Deutsche Musica* (1528), fol. XV^{vo}.

⁶⁶ The method used in determining the intervals throughout the Middle Ages was according to the system of Pythagoras. With the introduction of the Ptolemaic or harmonic system, first fully expounded in Fogliano's *Musica theórica* (1529), G# seemed to replace the ab on keyboard instruments. This is why theorists of the second half of the XVIth century speak of transpositions to two flats and three sharps. See Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1910), pp. 18f, 50, 74, 127ff.

This concludes the first part of our paper. We have endeavored to explain as clearly as possible all phases of the exceptional notation found in this riddle-canon of Ockeghem's, and we feel certain that the correct solution has finally been given.⁶⁷



The second part of our article will treat Ockeghem's other example of the *catholica*, the *Missa cujusvis toni* ("Mass in any ecclesiastical mode you like"), called by Glareanus, *ad omnem tonum*, and first published in the *Liber quindecim missarum* of Petrejus (1539). Portions of this mass—usually only the Kyrie and Benedictus—are found in Glareanus, Wilphlingseder, and in the historical works of Burney, Forkel, Kiese-wetter, Fröhlich, Schlecht, Ambros, Galli, Wooldridge, and Peter Wagner.⁶⁸ Plamenac⁶⁹ has recently published a new edition of the entire mass in score.

⁶⁷ Two examples in Heinrich Faber's *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (see pars I, cap. 4) verify our result. The first example, designated as an *Exemplum cantus ficti h mollaris* has the signature of three flats (s. above, p. 450), and the second, mentioned as an *Exemplum cantus ficti h duri*, has two sharps in the signature. Cf. also Johann Zanger, *Practica musicae* (1554), fol. Diii.

⁶⁸ For details see Dragan Plamenac's edition of Ockeghem's works, p. xi. The remark of Riemann (*Musiklexikon*, Art.: Ockeghem) that fragments from the *Missa cujusvis toni* are found also in Rochlitz's *Sammlung*, is incorrect. This error appears in most of the biographical articles on Ockeghem. It is quite true that Rochlitz printed a Kyrie and Christe that bear Ockeghem's name; these, however, are not from the *Missa cujusvis toni*, but from the *Missa Gaudeamus*, a composition of Josquin's, which, in a codex at the Vienna Royal Library, was erroneously ascribed to Ockeghem. (See Ambros *Geschichte*, vol. III, p. 179 and Eitner's *Quellenlexikon*, vol. VII, p. 232b). With the Abbé Stadler's publication of the Kyrie from this mass in the *Wiener Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1819), Appendix, p. 612, this error started to go the round. The fragment subsequently appeared under Ockeghem's name in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1826), pp. 513ff, Kiesewetter, *Verdienste der Niederländer* (1829), Appendix, pp. 26f, and in the same author's *Geschichte* (1834), Appendix, pp. xixf. In the last-named work the Christe was added. Both portions were published by Rochlitz in his *Sammlung* (1835), vol. I, pp. 3f. (cf. Corrections p. 29 and, further, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, vol. VI, p. 140 and vol. VIII, p. 200). In the second edition of Kiesewetter's *Geschichte* (1846), Appendix, pp. xxviii they still are printed under Ockeghem's name; on p. 117, however, the error is corrected. (Nevertheless, they reappear as compositions of Ockeghem's in Fröhlich's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik*—cf. vol. II [1874], pp. 97f. and 125.) That Riemann should have associated these two fragments with the *Missa cujusvis toni*, then, is somewhat puzzling. Eitner, in his *Verzeichnis neuer Ausgaben alter Musikwerke*, corrects the erroneous attribution as printed in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1826) and by Kiesewetter, but fails to correct it as printed by Rochlitz and Fröhlich. See Klauwell, *Der musikalische Canon* (1875), p. 54. The passage, then, on the Rochlitz *Sammlung* in Kretschmar's *Führer durch den Konzertsaal*, 4th. ed. (1916), vol. 1², p. 144, should be entirely dropped from the next edition, since not only does it perpetuate the mistaken attribution, but the claim made there that compositions by Obrecht are found in the *Sammlung* is also wrong. The *Missa Gaudeamus* is still incorrectly ascribed to Ockeghem in the last edition of Grove's "Dictionary" (see Art.: Ockeghem).

⁶⁹ *Johannes Ockeghem's Sämtliche Werke* (1927), pp. 44ff.

Glareanus' remark on this enigmatical mass is interesting, even if not wholly clear. "This Okenheim," he tells us, "composed a mass, *ad omnem tonum* (for this is what he himself named it), which may be sung starting with any of the three syllables according to the three species of the diatessaron or fourth. He placed no clef at the beginning, but instead only a circle with a question mark, which indicated the line or space upon which the first note fell."⁷⁰ Glareanus states further that he is quoting the Kyrie from the mass so that the reader may observe for himself that its tenor may begin either on *ut*, or *re*, or *mi*.⁷¹ It is a question whether Glareanus meant to infer that there are three modal possibilities or that there are four. He explains in various passages of his *Dodecachordon* that the musicians of his time changed not only the Lydian, but also the Mixolydian, to an Ionian,⁷² making the three most popular modes, then, the Dorian, the Phrygian, and the Ionian, according to the three species of the diatessaron or fourth.⁷³ From a theoretical viewpoint, at least, four modes are possible. Glareanus emphasizes this fact in another part of the same work, where he states that *ut* may be either *connexo*, that is, of the conjunct system, or *disiuncto*, that is, of the disjunct system.⁷⁴ In the various attempts to decipher this mass, some scholars have given a solution in three modes, and others in four. To achieve the greater number one need only add the Mixolydian to the

⁷⁰ *Dodecachordon*, p. 454: *Idem Okenheim Missam ad omnem Tonum (ita enim ipse nominavit) composuit cum ad treis duntaxat voces secundum treis diatessaron species decantaretur, nulla initio clavi adposita, sed circulo duntaxat cum virgula interrogatoria vel lineam, vel spatium notante. Cf. the German translation of this passage by Bohn (Dodecachordon, German ed. [1888], p. 411) and Kade (Ambros, Geschichte, vol. V, p. xv).*

⁷¹ *Dodecachordon*, p. 454: *Eius Missæ unum Kyrie, ut ita dicam, adponere placuit, ut Lector videret Tenorem eius vel in ut, vel in re, vel in mi exordium habere posse.*

⁷² Cf. *Dodecachordon*, pp. 115, 130, 134, 190, 256.

⁷³ Cf. *Dodecachordon*, p. 180.

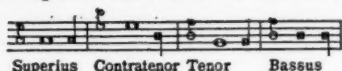
⁷⁴ *Dodecachordon*, p. 31: *Omnis cantus disinit aut in re, aut in mi, aut in ut, et in ut quidem vel connexo, vel disiuncto. Connexum apellant, quod fa habet in h fa h mi, disiunctum quod mi. See also Glareanus, Epitome musicæ (1559), p. 48. The three syllables with *ut* in the double rôle of *connexo* and *disiuncto*, and the three species of the diatessaron, showing the semitone in the various positions, are illustrated below. The term *connexo* signifies that the progression is to include h and not h, and the term *disiuncto*, the opposite. Each boxed syllable is the modal tonic or final:*

	D	E	F	G	a	b	h	c
Dorian	re	mi	fa	sol				
Phrygian		mi	fa	sol	la			
Ionian = Lydian			ut	re	mi	fa		
Mixolydian				ut	re		mi	fa

three most popular modes. If for no other reason than completeness, it is the greater number that we shall resort to in our own solution.

The following explanatory remarks are given here in order that the reader may more easily comprehend the various proposed solutions.

As the following figure shows, the enigmatical sign⁷⁵ indicates the position of the tonic in each voice, and, as Glareanus says, the tone may be sung as either *re*, *mi*, *ut connexo*, or *ut disjuncto*, depending upon the choice of the mode. The two notes assigned each voice in this example indicate the first and last notes the voice is to have in the mass:



An interval of an octave

separates the first note of the two upper parts from that of the tenor and bass.⁷⁶ The first note in the tenor is the tonic of the ecclesiastical mode. Being without signature, this composition is not restricted as is the *Fuga in epidiatessaron*. It can be placed in the various modes in their natural or untransposed position (*cantus durus*); in the various modes singly transposed, *i.e.*, with one flat in the signature (*cantus mollis*); and in the various modes transposed beyond the signature of one flat (*cantus fictus*).⁷⁷ The pitch level may vary also, depending upon the selection of D, E (E \flat), F (F \sharp), G, a (a \flat), b (b), or c (c \sharp) as tonic.⁷⁸ With the tonics E (E \flat), G, and b (b), a special problem arises: the adjustment of clefs to the melodic lines becomes possible only if the relative pitch levels of the parts are changed from what they were in the original, that is, if the various parts are either raised or lowered an octave. For the tonics D, F (F \sharp), a (a \flat), and c (c \sharp) this is not necessary: the composition can be performed with the relative pitch levels undisturbed.

Wilphlingseder, it appears, was the first to attempt a solution of this riddle as well as of the canon. He prints the separate voices of the Kyrie, with the tonic F as *ut*, the mode being Ionian (previous to Glareanus' *Dodecachordon*, Lydian), with the tonic G as *re*, the mode being Dorian, and with the tonic a as *mi*, the mode being Phrygian, all ver-

⁷⁵ In Glareanus, Wilphlingseder, Burney, Forkel, and others, the placings of the sign are entirely wrong.

⁷⁶ One has only to select the pitch and add the corresponding clef for each voice to verify this statement. If we select D *re* as tonic, the tenor part, because its first note falls on the second line, would call for the barytone clef. Similarly the position of the first note on the staff in the other three voices, *superius*, *contratenor*, and *bassus* would call for mezzosoprano-, tenor-, and bass-clef respectively.

⁷⁷ See above, pp. 445f.

⁷⁸ Other tonics, lower as well as higher, are also possible.

sions in transposed position with one flat in the signature.⁷⁹ In none of the three resolutions is the original notation preserved—strange to say, not even in F and a, where this would be possible. For some inexplicable reason, Wilphlingseder rewrites several of the voices.⁸⁰ A solution which Kiesewetter,⁸¹ Fröhlich,⁸² Wooldridge,⁸³ and Peter Wagner⁸⁴ reprint is copied from Forkel.⁸⁵ His rendering—he gives only one—has the note, a, as tonic and is without signature. The mode thus obtained, the Aeolian, is, however, not included in the list of modes for this mass given by Glareanus. The original notation is not retained by him either; most of the voices are rewritten in order to accommodate the combination V A T B⁸⁶ instead of V M A T.

To Ambros is due the credit for having been the first to suggest clefs that preserve the original notation. To obtain the tonic F, he proposes⁸⁷ the clefs S A T Bar with one flat in the signature;⁸⁸ for the tonic a, the clefs V M A T; and for the tonic D, M T Bar B—the last two without signature. These combinations, then, produce the Ionian = Lydian, Aeolian, and Dorian modes. Kade⁸⁹ retains these clefs and signatures

⁷⁹ Wilphlingseder, *Erotemata musices practicae*, pp. 66ff. Wilphlingseder's three modes agree with those of Glareanus. Cf. also the set of three resolutions offered by Ambros, Adler, Riemann, and Kroyer, to be mentioned presently. See also Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Musik*, 2d. ed. vol. I (1930), p. 79. It might be added that the term "transposition" was used in a different sense, in connection with the older music, from that obtaining today. The difference was due to the fact that the older music recognized the natural position of the ecclesiastical modes as original and very seldom went beyond them, with the exception of transposing them a fourth higher or a fifth lower. The limitation existed because of the mediaval system and because of the difficulty of *solfège*ing the few compositions whose notes were not included in this system. The attitude, therefore, was very different from that of today, which, in connection with the major-minor system, regards all keys as practical and as of equal value.

⁸⁰ Cf. also Plamenac, *Ockeghem's Sämtliche Werke*, p. xxvii for the various combinations of clefs given by Wilphlingseder. The G-clef *ex ut* and *ex re* is there misprinted; it should be placed on the third line.

⁸¹ *Verdienste der Niederländer*, Appendix, pp. 25f; *Geschichte der Musik* (1834), Appendix, p. xviii (ed. of 1846, Appendix, p. xxvi).

⁸² *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II, pp. 124 and 126.

⁸³ "Oxford History of Music," vol. II, pp. 217f. Cf. Morris, "Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century" (1922), pp. 59f.

⁸⁴ *Geschichte der Messe* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 102ff.

⁸⁵ *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II, pp. 535f. The Sonleithner-Forkel *Geschichte der Musik in Denkmäler* prints the entire mass in score in agreement with this version. The only extant copy of this work is the proof-copy formerly in Forkel's possession, now in the Prussian State Library at Berlin.

⁸⁶ Read violin (= treble)-, alto-, tenor-, bass-clef. In the same way the abbreviations Fr. v, S, M, Bar, Sb signify French violin-, soprano-, mezzosoprano-, barytone- and subbass clef respectively. (The French violin-clef uses a G clef on the first line instead of the second.)

⁸⁷ *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. III, pp. 177f.

⁸⁸ Peter Bohn in his German edition of Glareanus' *Dodecachordon*, p. 411, follows this resolution.

⁸⁹ Ambros, *Geschichte*, vol. V, pp. 1ff.

with but a single exception, which consists of the addition of a flat to the version with the final D. Spitta, with good reason, censures Kade's departure. He makes this statement (in which "A" should be understood as referring to "a"): "I am at a loss to understand why Kade, who gives the groups of clefs for D and A quite properly, should place one flat in the signature of the resolution in D, but none in that in A, when it is the reverse that is correct. D through his method becomes a transposed A; one would thus hear exactly the same version twice, a difference existing only in pitch."⁹⁰ Spitta is quite justified in his criticism, for the mode is Aeolian in both interpretations. The old theorists before the time of the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus regarded a mode with the final D as Dorian whether or not the upper fourth was colored or changed through the chromatic lowering of \flat . That is, the series $\overbrace{D E F G a b c d}$ and the series $\overbrace{D E F G a b c d}$ were both regarded as Dorian, just as a transposed Ionian with one flat was considered Lydian.⁹¹ In his own solution, Spitta⁹² goes beyond Ambros and correctly presents, for the first time, four groups of clefs for the four authentic modes, thus:

Clefs	Signature	Tonic	Mode
1. M T Bar B	O	D	Dorian
2. S A T Bar	\flat	F	Ionian = Lydian
3. V M A T	\flat	a	Phrygian
4. Fr.v S M A	\flat	c	Mixolydian

This solution is adopted by Plamenac in his new edition of this mass.⁹³

Raimund Schlecht⁹⁴ asserts that this composition is to be performed in the natural position of the four authentic modes, *i.e.*, with the tonics D, E, F, and G. The proposed clefs for E and G are of special interest, since they require some voices to be sung an octave higher than written, and others an octave lower:

E (Phrygian)

Superius Contratenor Tenor Bassus

G (Mixolydian)

Superius Contratenor Tenor Bassus

⁹⁰ See *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. VI (1890), p. 142.

⁹¹ Cf. Glareanus, *Dodecachordon*, pp. 130 and 256.

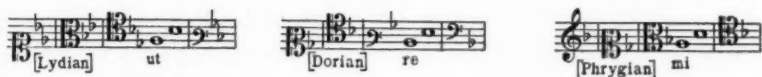
⁹² *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. VI, p. 142.

⁹³ Ockeghem's *Sämliche Werke*, p. 44.

⁹⁴ *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik* (Regensburg, 1871), pp. 81f.

The solution offered by Amintore Galli⁹⁵ is also based on the natural position of the authentic modes. The one proposed by Riemann deserves particular consideration, since he is the first to go beyond the signature of one flat into the realm of *musica ficta*. He recommends either (1) the tonics D, E, F (with \flat), and G (with \natural) or (2) the same pitch level for all three possibilities, e.g., G as *ut* (G major), G as *re* (G minor), or G Phrygian.⁹⁶ The use of this one tonic for the various modes, however, is quite impractical, because the G-group of clefs proposed by Schlecht would have to be employed—requiring the voices to be sung an octave higher or lower than written—or the entire mass be rewritten. Guido Adler,⁹⁷ discussing Ockeghem's mass *Caput*, suggests that a choice of modes might have been intended in this work just as in the *Missa cuiusvis toni*. He proposes for the latter, as does Riemann, one pitch level for all three resolutions, his choice falling on D with an occasional \flat for the Dorian, or D with one sharp for the Mixolydian, or D with two sharps for the major, i.e., for the "fiction" of the Lydian, his list thus excluding the Phrygian.

Kroyer⁹⁸ has recently suggested three possible versions which we, unfortunately, cannot accept. He reads the first note as "*ut*," or "*re*," or "*mi*," and obtains the following combinations:



According to him, the composition in "*ut*" is Mixolydian with the double transposition of the fourth; the one in "*re*" is Dorian with $E\flat$ *la fa*; the one in "*mi*" is Hypodorian. To which we say this:

Concerning combination 1: To designate the starting note F as *ut* = Lydian, i.e., *connexo* would not be correct, because we obtain, as a result of the signature with two flats, *ut disjuncto*. The mode is therefore Mixolydian. In this respect our conclusion agrees with that of Kroyer, who likewise designates this version Mixolydian. With the two-flat signature, the conjunct fourth is $E\flat$ F G $a\flat$ and the disjunct fourth,

⁹⁵ Cf. *Estetica della musica* (Turin, 1900), pp. 242ff.

⁹⁶ Cf. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2d. ed., vol. II¹, p. 39. Also see Riemann's essay, *Verloren gegangene Selbstverständlichkeiten in der Musik des 15-16 Jahrhunderts* in *Blätter für Haus- und Kirchenmusik*, vol. XI (1906), p. 7; separate in *Musikalisches Magazin*, Nr. 17 (1907).

⁹⁷ *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XIX¹ (= vol. 38), Introduction, p. viii.

⁹⁸ Cf. his essay in the *Festschrift* for Guido Adler (1930), p. 111.

F G a \flat .⁹⁹ One has only to think of the mediæval system transposed a whole-tone lower.¹⁰⁰

Concerning combination 2: A composition closing with D *re* and using \flat instead of \natural was regarded by old theorists before the time of Glareanus as Dorian, as explained above,¹⁰¹ whereas, if the same composition used an additional e-flat throughout,¹⁰² it would have been regarded as Phrygian and not Dorian, because the final D would have been sung as *mi* and not as *re*.

Concerning combination 3: A composition with the tonic a as *mi*, and thus in the transposed Phrygian, cannot possibly be defined as Hypodorian for obvious reasons.¹⁰³ This resolution, which was previously proposed by Spitta, must be termed Phrygian, as it was by him. Since resolution 2 is in the Phrygian also, the only difference between resolutions 2 and 3 is one of pitch, and they are therefore open to the same objections as are the two versions in the Aeolian offered by Kade.

To the best of the author's knowledge the proposed resolutions end with Kroyer.

Since the *Missa cuiusvis toni* is wholly without a signature, its possible solutions, as already stated, are not as limited in number as are those of the *Fuga in epidiatessaron*. In spite of this, however, and of the many attempts made to plumb the mysteries of the work, only a few of its possible resolutions have been proposed. In the following table, these proposed versions are indicated by means of circles around the signatures. For practical reasons (*cf.* p. 456), the resolutions with the finals E (E \flat), G, and \natural (\flat) have not been included in our solution. The tonics D, F (F \sharp), a (a \flat) and c (c \sharp), with the combination of clefs for each

⁹⁹ To verify this statement, *cf.* the table of Ribovius on p. 447. The only Rows in which *ut* appears there on the second line, as in this mass, are Rows B and D. The former gives the Mixolydian or *ut disjuncto* and the latter the Ionian = Lydian, or *ut connexo*. The tenor given by Kroyer agrees with B5—that is, with part of the Mixolydian series—not with D2. The custom of changing the Mixolydian into the Ionian, referred to on p. 455, further illustrates this point. Through the use of *f mi fictum* (f \sharp) for *f fa* (f) the Mixolydian is changed to an Ionian. The diatessaron or fourth through this change loses its characteristic as *disjuncto* and becomes *connexo*, for the basic system is no longer the original one starting with Γ , but the transposed one beginning with A. To check further the clefs and signatures given in our solution below, note that the Rows B, C, D, E, F, and G in the table of Ribovius, give the Mixolydian, Phrygian, Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, and Dorian, respectively.

¹⁰⁰ *Cf.* the diagram from Ramis given on p. 447.

¹⁰¹ See p. 458. As we see, the second tenor given by Kroyer agrees with E2 and thus fits into the Aeolian mode, regarded before the time of Glareanus as Dorian.

¹⁰² In which event it would fit C5.

¹⁰³ One being that, with the tonic a as *mi*, the division of the octave would consist of a fifth plus a fourth, the division characteristic of the authentic modes, and not of a fourth plus a fifth, the division characteristic of the plagal modes and thus of the Hypodorian.

proposed by Spitta, appear here as *re*, *mi*, *ut connexo*, and *ut disjuncto*. The transpositions make use of signatures up to three flats and three sharps.¹⁰⁴ Only Guido Adler (suggesting D Ionian with two sharps and D Mixolydian with one sharp) and Kroyer (suggesting F Mixolydian with two flats) offer signatures that go beyond one flat.¹⁰⁵ Because the Ionian and Aeolian were regarded by the old theorists as the Lydian and Dorian respectively, the two related modes have been grouped together. The table follows:

Clefs	Tonic	Signature Dorian: Aeolian		Signature Phrygian	Signature Lydian: Ionian	Signature Mixolydian
		<i>re</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ut b</i>	<i>ut h</i>
1. M T Bar B	D	⊙	⊙	2♭	3♯	⊙
2. S A T Bar	F(F♯)	3♭	3♯	2♯	⊙	⊙
3. V M A T	a(a♭)	♯	⊙	⊙	3♭	3♯
4. Fr.v S M A	c(c♯)	2♭	3♭	3♯	♯	⊙

As we have seen, the difference in pitch between the tonics of the highest and lowest of Spitta's resolutions is a seventh. It would be a decided improvement to use the clef-groups of either 2 or 3 for all four modes, or, for the sake of variety, to use both groups and to assign two modes to each of them—all of which is illustrated in the following table. Of course, it is understood that other combinations are possible also.

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

F(F♯) I III XI(V) XII a: I III XI(V) XII F: I XI(V) a: III VII a: I III F: XI(V) VII

Table in which all 4 modes draw their clefs from group 2 Table in which all 4 modes draw their clefs from group 3 2 tables in each of which 2 modes draw their clefs from group 2, and 2 from group 3

This composition is unique. One is not justified in speaking of it as

¹⁰⁴ In order to complete this table we have gone beyond the signature with two sharps.

¹⁰⁵ We are, of course, touching here only on those resolutions that have as tonic D, F, a, and c. Cf. Riemann's solution above, pp. 459.

facetious,¹⁰⁶ or in claiming that Ockeghem composed it only as a jest.¹⁰⁷ Nothing could be further from the truth. Ockeghem proceeded from a practical standpoint and from nothing else. The clefs were actually unnecessary. After the choice of a final and mode, it was a very easy matter for trained singers mentally to add the necessary clef and signature. Of the sharps or flats in the latter, only those were of importance that fixed the position of the *mi-fa*, or hexachordal semitone.¹⁰⁸ The placing of a whole group of clefs and signatures at the beginning of each staff would only have confused the singers. That the rather unfavorable criticism of this mass is not well-founded was perceived long ago by Ambros, who wrote of it:

The entire composition is based on the deepest understanding of the ecclesiastical modes, and should be regarded as a test of the singers' mastery. The copy at the Royal Court Library at Munich, in which the singers of the famous old ducal chapel occasionally inserted reminders between the notes, and in which, also, they corrected the misprint of an extra note in the second (and last) Agnus, proves that it was not a piece purely for display or exhibition, but a work for practical use. Ockeghem would have objected most strenuously to the term "facetious" levelled at it by Kiesewetter. It is, on the contrary, a highly serious work, over all the movements of which—regardless of the mode in which it is sung—there floats a distinctive atmosphere of mild tranquillity and calm sadness, an atmosphere, moreover, which forms the principal characteristic of style in Ockeghem, whose works throughout reveal a gentle nature, almost feminine in its sensitivity.¹⁰⁹



Before concluding, we shall touch briefly on two further examples of the *catholica*. They are not without clefs, as is this mass of Ockeghem's; on the contrary, each exhibits a double group of them. Kroyer¹¹⁰ has only recently called attention to these interesting compositions. He believes that, through their fortunate discovery, he has proved the existence of the "chromatic" *chiavette*. The works in question are two madrigals *Sopra duo Toni*, by Giandomenico Martoretta: *Laura suave vita di mia vita*, from his Second Book of Madrigals (1552), with the following combinations of clefs: M T T B and S A A Bar, both without signature; and *O pothos isdio*, from his Third Book (1554), with the

¹⁰⁶ See Kiesewetter, *Geschichte* (1834), p. 52.

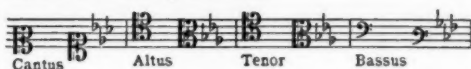
¹⁰⁷ See Adler in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, vol. 38, p. viii and Kroyer in the *Adler Festschrift*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 449, and below, p. 463.

¹⁰⁹ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. III, p. 178.

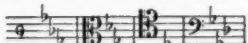
¹¹⁰ Adler *Festschrift*, p. 112.

clefs A T T B and M A A Bar, the former with one flat in the signature and the latter with two. Kroyer believes that the first madrigal should be performed in the following manner:



and the second thus:



He bases his belief on the assumption that the transposing signature of the first madrigal is wholly missing and that that of the second is half missing. We cannot share the assumption of such inexactness in the old method of notation. Even the old composers' disinclination to place a multiplicity of chromatic signs in the signature—a point adduced by Kroyer as an argument—would not justify such vagueness. According to the practice of the time, a signature which in modern notation would require many such signs did not have to be written completely. Thus, five flats could be replaced by one flat on D and another on G, since these two flats were sufficient to show the singer the position of the *mi-fa*. A case in point is furnished by the following signature, appearing in an example by Matthias Greiter in Gregorius Faber's *Musices practicae* (1553): .¹¹¹ The double clefs in the two

Martoretta madrigals have nothing to do with the transposing value of the so-called *chiavette*. They indicate only that *Laura suave vita di mia vita* may be performed in either the Phrygian mode or the Mixolydian (*duo toni*) and *O pothos isdio* in either the Aeolian = Dorian mode or the Mixolydian (again *duo toni*).—It is only fair to point out that, in connection with the first of these madrigals, Kroyer¹¹² too has proposed as a solution the possibility of performance in either the Phrygian mode or the Mixolydian, but he has given this as an alternative solution rather than as the sole one, which it really is.—The expression, *Supra duo Toni*,¹¹³ which refers to the possibility of these compositions' being performable in two ecclesiastical modes, can properly be applied only to *catholica*, because only one mode would be heard, differing, however,

¹¹¹ Cf. 146ff. For further examples, see above, p. 450.

¹¹² *Der vollkommene Partiturspieler* (1930), p. xiv. A new edition of this composition in score is printed on pp. 24f of the same work.

¹¹³ Cf. the Adler *Festschrift*, p. 114.

in pitch, if a composition were transposed according to the *chiavette*-principle (that is, if it were transposed in fact through a special combination of clefs, though untransposed in appearance—so far as placing on the staff is concerned—because of the omission of a signature).¹¹⁴



The *catholica* appears to be a very old practice. A direction to sing a single melody in the four authentic modes is found in works as early as those of Pseudo-Hucbald.¹¹⁵ Guido likewise speaks of the practice.¹¹⁶ In the examples introduced by these writers, the natural position of the scales is used, whereas, in the compositions of Ockeghem treated in this article, the modes are transposed. This tends to confirm Zarlino's statement to the effect that transposition had become customary and had been found useful, beginning with the time of Ockeghem and his pupil Josquin.¹¹⁷ Morley¹¹⁸ informs us that the art of transposing came originally from the organ and that, when introduced into singing, it found little favor, owing to the difficulty singers experienced in *sol-fa*ing transposed compositions. Such works, he tells us further, were suitable only for a choir of men or trained singers and not for young pupils or beginners. This statement would seem to bear out Ambros's contention that the *Missa cujusvis toni*, in which the ordinary difficulties of transposition were substantially increased, should be regarded as a test-piece intended to try out the musicianship of singers.

¹¹⁴ See Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, lib. IV, cap. 17. Cf. also cap. 16. I regret finding myself compelled to disagree with Dr. Kroyer, a most learned musicologist and one of the most courteous and kindly gentlemen that I have ever had the pleasure of meeting.

¹¹⁵ *Musica enchiriadis*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, pp. 156, 164, and 169; *Scholia enchiriadis*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, p. 179.

¹¹⁶ Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, p. 47.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, lib. IV, cap. 17. See also the article referred to in footnote 41.

¹¹⁸ "A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke" (1608), pp. 156f.

DIETRICH BUXTEHUDE

(1637-1707)

ON THE TERCENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH

By WALTER E. BUSZIN

THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, a son, Dietrich, was born to Johann Buxtehude, organist at Helsingborg. This son played a most important part—both directly and indirectly—in the history of music, and this year the anniversary of his birth is being celebrated in many parts of the world.¹

Not only was Buxtehude, according to Schweitzer, the greatest organist between Scheidt and Bach, but he was also a member of the triumvirate (Pachelbel, Böhm, and Buxtehude) which established the forms of the chorale prelude and chorale fantasia, adopted and developed to their highest point by Johann Sebastian Bach. When young Bach crept up to his brother's attic to copy music in the moonlight, he became intimately acquainted with the compositions of his brother's teacher, Pachelbel, whose style and form interested him deeply. Bach's chorale partitas, *Christ, der Du bist der helle Tag* and *O Gott, Du frommer Gott*, reveal the influence of Georg Böhm, who helped him solve many technical problems. But it was from Dietrich Buxtehude that Bach acquired a richer harmonic vocabulary, the ability to construct more elaborate musical services, clearer ideas of the structure of music, increased knowledge of orchestral accompaniments, and, in

¹ The most comprehensive biography of Buxtehude, covering 506 pages, was written by André Pirro and published at Paris in 1913. At Copenhagen, S. E. A. Hagen has uncovered some highly important data in his "Archæological Studies Concerning the Days of Buxtehude's Youth in Helsingborg and Elsinore." In Germany several books and articles have been published which supply rare historical, biographical, and critical material. Notable among these are H. Jimmerthal's *Dietrich Buxtehude*, published at Lübeck by F. W. Kaibel in 1877, and Stiehl's *Die Organisten an der St. Marien-Kirche und die Abendmusiken in Lübeck*, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1886. A valuable discussion by Wilhelm Stahl was published in Vol. XX of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Lübeck, 1919. To commemorate the 300th anniversary of Buxtehude's birth, Stahl has very recently written a short biography of 64 pages containing many valuable illustrations. Bruno Grusnick has written a still shorter biography, consisting of but 16 pages. Both of these anniversary biographies were published by the Bärenreiter Verlag at Kassel, the firm which has published many of Buxtehude's cantatas and some of his instrumental music.

general, an impulse towards greater freedom when composing music.

Buxtehude was a master at modulating freely into remote keys. Although he lived at a time when practically all music was strongly diatonic in character, he was among the first to make frequent use of harmonic progressions that were decidedly chromatic in structure. Certain of Bach's compositions, for example his great G minor Fantasy, would perhaps never have been written had he not learned from Buxtehude to modulate freely and to progress chromatically. Buxtehude's influence on Bach may be observed also in the chorale preludes *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* and *Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*. It is noteworthy that Bach journeyed two hundred miles afoot to Lübeck to hear and consult Buxtehude, though he could more easily have studied with Pachelbel in Nuremberg, which was much nearer to Arnstadt. He undoubtedly made this long journey because he did not as yet understand Buxtehude's idiom, whereas he had assimilated that of Pachelbel early in his boyhood days. The Arnstadt parishioners were provoked to severe criticism by Bach's protracted visit at Lübeck, but it proved a rich blessing for posterity.

As with many other musicians of the XVIIth century, as well as of the XVIth, we have no idea today what Dietrich Buxtehude may have looked like. We do not have a painting or bust of the man who by his forty years of service at Lübeck brought great distinction to this little town. Though the good people of Lübeck appreciated most heartily the splendid work which he had done in their midst as director of their famous *Abendmusiken*, they evidently never thought that later generations would be interested in what was being accomplished in their Marienkirche during these four decades. Buxtehude himself, according to all available indications, never dreamed that he would go down in musical history as the most eminent precursor of the greatest composer of German Protestantism. Free from the hardships which encumbered Handel, Beethoven, Schubert, or even J. S. Bach, he lived comfortably yet simply, apparently having no desire to display his virtuosity or to acquaint people outside of Lübeck with his compositions.



Although there has been some discussion of the matter, it is quite generally believed today that Buxtehude was born in 1637. Back in the

mid-XVIIIth century Johann Moller² gave this date, but at the beginning of the present century Stiehl³ insisted that Buxtehude had been born in 1635. Although the year given by Moller is generally accepted, his claim that Buxtehude was born in Elsinore, on the island of Zealand, is no longer given much credence.⁴ Instead, Helsingborg is accepted as his birthplace in Pirro's important biography, and also in Riemann's *Musiklexikon* and Grove's "Dictionary." Helsingborg is a seaport town, directly opposite Elsinore, on the sound which separates Zealand from Sweden. Although it is today Swedish, it belonged at that time to Denmark.

Buxtehude has always been referred to as "the great Dane." In the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, however, his family name was quite common in the German cities of Lübeck and Hamburg, and it was often preceded by the preposition *de*. About thirty miles outside of Hamburg, in the direction of Bremen, there is a little town bearing the name Buxtehude. Although it has not as yet been proved definitely, many believe that the Buxtehudes originally came from this region and that some of them later moved to Helsingborg. Stahl, Frotscher, and other German musicologists⁵ regard Buxtehude as not a true Dane, but as a German by ancestry and a Dane by adoption. In the records of the Olai-Kirke at Elsinore, Buxtehude's father is called Hans Jensen. The conclusion has been drawn that the Danes had given his grandfather the name Jens and that the family had therefore lived under Danish rule for some time.

Very little is known of Buxtehude's early life and training. It is generally agreed that his father instructed him in the art of playing the organ and taught him the rudiments of musical theory. Other men under whom he may have studied are Kapellmeister Caspar Förster of Copenhagen; Johann Lorentz, organist of the Nicolai-Kirke in Copenhagen; Matthias Weckmann,⁶ the famous organist of the Jakobikirche

² *Cimbria Liberata* (Copenhagen, 1744), II, 132.

³ Reports of Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902.

⁴ Evidence has been discovered which indicates that in 1641 Buxtehude's father was still organist of the Marie-Kirke in Helsingborg. Dietrich Buxtehude himself, however, indicated in a composition which he wrote in honor of his deceased father that Johann Buxtehude was at Elsinore at this time. Even if the elder Buxtehude had left Helsingborg in 1639 or 1640 for Hamlet's city, Helsingborg would still be the place of Dietrich Buxtehude's birth.

⁵ Wilhelm Stahl, *Franz Tunder und Dietrich Buxtehude*, in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XX (1919), 34 ff; Gotthold Frotscher, *Geschichte des Orgelspiels und der Orgelkomposition* (Berlin, Max Hesses Verlag, 1935), p. 436.

⁶ Max Seiffert, *Dietrich Buxtehude*, in the series, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XLI, 385. The names of Förster and Lorentz have been proposed as possible teachers by Stiehl and Pirro, respectively.

in Hamburg, who had been a pupil of Heinrich Schütz; and Johann Theile,⁷ who likewise had been a pupil of Schütz and who lived in Lübeck until 1673. Certain it is that Buxtehude was strongly influenced by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck of Amsterdam, who influenced all the organists of the North.

Buxtehude first served as organist of the Marie-Kirke at Helsingborg from 1657 to about 1660. He left Helsingborg to serve as organist at a church in Elsinore, also called the Marie-Kirke but popularly referred to as the German Church because most of its members were German merchants living in that city. Here he remained for eight years. On April 11, 1668, the church council at Lübeck decided to offer the two merged offices of organist and *Werkmeister* (general overseer) to Buxtehude. He accepted, and left Elsinore. The assumption that Buxtehude was born in Elsinore is due, no doubt, to the fact that he came to Lübeck directly from that city.

In Lübeck, his predecessor had been Franz Tunder. This organist, according to Mattheson,⁸ had been a pupil of the famous Italian, Frescobaldi. During his early years at Lübeck, Tunder had found it difficult to support himself and his family on the salary which he received as organist. When, in 1647, Gerdt Black, the *Werkmeister* of the Marienkirche, resigned because of old age, Tunder inquired of the church council whether it would not be possible for him to serve both as organist and *Werkmeister*, thus drawing a better salary. The council, realizing that Tunder needed a larger income and that the two offices could well be in the charge of one person, consented. Tunder was thus assured of more agreeable living conditions.

When Buxtehude received the appointment to Lübeck, he too was quite willing to serve in this double capacity. His duties as *Werkmeister* were almost menial at times, but he did not seem to object. He served as secretary and treasurer of the church. It was his duty to suggest necessary repairs, to purchase materials, to employ workmen, to supervise all repairs, and to pay out wages and salaries. He compensated the men engaged to toll the church bells or serve as pallbearers at funerals.

⁷ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), II, 57; Johann Walther, *Lexicon*, pp. 602 ff; and Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, tr. E. Newman (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1911), I, 84. On the other hand, Philipp Spitta ("The Life of Bach," tr. Bell-Maitland [Novello, 1899], I, 257) and Milne ("Johann Theile," in Grove's "Dictionary," 3rd ed.) doubt that Theile was Buxtehude's teacher, since he was nine years younger than Buxtehude. Milne admits, however, that possibly Theile, who played the viola da gamba, may have given instruction to Buxtehude, who, as a result, later wrote sonatas for that instrument.

⁸ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), p. 227.

In general, Buxtehude seems to have enjoyed this work, and the people of Lübeck were evidently satisfied with the faithful manner in which he performed it.

It was customary in those days for a young clergyman, teacher, or church musician to marry a daughter of his predecessor, usually the oldest one available. Buxtehude, quite obediently, married the second daughter of Franz Tunder, the eldest having become the wife of Samuel Franck, cantor of the church. Buxtehude and his wife, Anna Margaretha, became the parents of seven children. It is well known that, later, Bach as well as Handel declined the honor of succeeding Buxtehude in Lübeck because they were unwilling to marry one of his daughters.⁹ Mattheson also coveted this position, but likewise could not be persuaded to marry the eldest daughter of the eminent organist. Finally, on May 4, 1706, Buxtehude petitioned the council to offer his post to one of his daughters after his death. He said that he had a capable *subjectum* in view who not only might serve as the spouse of his daughter but also was qualified to perform the work which he had been doing. The request was granted, and Johann Christian Schiefferdecker thus became Buxtehude's successor.

Although Buxtehude was evidently quite content with Lübeck, he never had the satisfaction of having a good organ at his disposal. He pleaded with the church council on many occasions to have the organ rebuilt and reconditioned, but during his entire forty years there nothing involving a heavy expense was done. His organ did, however, have three manuals and fifty-three stops, thirty-eight for the manuals and fifteen for the pedals. Though the organ was not tuned in equal temperament until eighty years after his death, yet Buxtehude modulated freely into all keys, contending that freedom of modulation was more important and defensible than the avoidance of the harsh discords produced under the Meantone System. He was the first to use the trill on the pedals, and Spitta claims that Buxtehude was the first to employ several trills at the same time.

On Sundays Buxtehude was obliged to perform in two services, one in the late morning and the other at vespers. Services were also held on other days of the week and at a very early hour on Sunday, but neither the organ nor the choir was used at these times. All in all, the organ was used rather sparingly, and not at all on "fast days" and

⁹ Anna Margaretha, the daughter who became the wife of Buxtehude's successor, was ten years older than Bach and Handel.

certain other solemn occasions. For congregational singing it was customary to use the choir rather than the organ to supply an accompaniment for the hymns. The choir read its music from immense tomes, around which its members assembled while singing. Another old custom prevailing in Lübeck during the XVIIth century was that the congregation, choir, and organist would alternate in the rendering of the various stanzas of a hymn. The playing of the hymn tune at the organ was regarded at that time as a proper substitute for the singing of a given stanza. In those days organists were not obliged to play soft and delicate postludes, as pastors did not then stand at the exits to greet, and converse with, their congregations. As a result, there was an opportunity to play the larger organ works while the congregation was leaving the church. Many of Buxtehude's larger compositions, his toccatas, preludes, fugues, and chaconnes, were played at this point.

On certain festival occasions, other instrumentalists—notably violinists—would join forces with the organist, and vocal soloists were employed. A study of Buxtehude's compositions will reveal that he strove to make his music for them as rich and artistic as possible. Most of his choral compositions call not only for an organ accompaniment but also for stringed instruments and, at times, for a small orchestra. The violin was used chiefly to play descants. Buxtehude used the viola da gamba also, and the so-called alto and tenor violin, which played the parts assigned at the present day to the viola. The double bass, then called the *violone*, was used a great deal. The instruments of the woodwind were the flute and the bassoon, and of the brasses, the trumpet and the trombone. Since most of the organs of that period were tuned a tone too high, XVIIth-century performers on other instruments had to transpose accordingly. The instruments purchased by the Marienkirche, however, were made and tuned conformably. In his cantata, *Ihr lieben Christen, freuet euch*, Buxtehude employs three violins, two violas, three cornets, three trombones, two trumpets, bassoon, contrabass, and organ continuo. A composition of the year 1697, written for the consecration of the new altar, requires three choruses, kettledrums, and trumpets.

Buxtehude and the city of Lübeck naturally attained great fame through the *Abendmusiken*. These evening concerts consisted of a series of five programs, presented each year immediately following the afternoon services on the last two Sundays of the Trinity season and on the second, third, and fourth Sundays in Advent. The first Sunday

in Advent was not marked by an evening musicale because that was a solemn fast day.¹⁰ The programs began at about four o'clock and lasted approximately an hour. They usually consisted of two cantatas for choir, solo voices, and orchestra, and of a closing chorale.

Exactly when and how the *Abendmusiken* originated has not been definitely ascertained. It is still accepted by many that Buxtehude introduced them, but Stahl is of the opinion that Tunder was the originator. Mention of them was first made, according to Schweitzer,¹¹ in the *Protokollbuch* (1673) of the Marienkirche: "Anyone who henceforth shall be appointed and engaged as musician to the council is in duty bound to assist at the organ at the five *Abendmusiken gratis*." Apparently these vesper musicales were at first short instrumental programs, perhaps organ recitals, presented simply for the citizenry of Lübeck. Eventually they assumed larger proportions: solo instruments were used with the organ, vocal soloists were engaged, and choir music was added to make the programs more attractive.

According to statements made by Buxtehude, the business men of Lübeck were responsible for the introduction and maintenance of the concerts. Since a large number of people came to the *Abendmusiken* from many parts of Europe, the merchants were willing to defray certain expenses or to help meet any deficit for which the council held Buxtehude personally responsible. An honorarium was always presented to him on New Year's Day, from which he paid off whatever personal expenses he had incurred on account of the *Abendmusiken*. In order to retain the co-operation and support of these men, the *director musices* each year presented to the patrons printed copies of the texts used in the programs.

Admission to the concerts was free, but a free-will offering was taken at each performance, which was at times not very large when the attendance was small owing to inclement weather. Ruetz has described certain conditions with which Buxtehude and others had to concern themselves:

The *Abendmusiken* were given in such inclement and raw season, namely, in the middle of winter, that after one had passed three hours [*i.e.*, at the afternoon service] in the cold, one had to freeze for a fourth. The horrid noise of mischievous youths, and the unruly running, racing, and brawling behind the choir, destroy almost all the charm the music might have had, not to mention the

¹⁰ C. S. Terry, "Bach, a Biography" (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1928), p. 68.

¹¹ Albert Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

iniquities and ungodlinesses that are committed under cover of the obscurity and the low lights.¹²

A great part of the audience frequently consisted of *hoi polloi*, who sometimes apparently came to disturb rather than to listen and be edified. The town council assumed the responsibility of maintaining order, and their house-guard usually sufficed. But on December 2, 1705, when a performance was presented in memory of Emperor Leopold I, the pressure of the crowd was so great that two corporals and eighteen privates were needed to keep order. On this occasion Bach was present, having journeyed afoot to Lübeck to attend.

Buxtehude sought to make these programs pretentious, but he labored under serious handicaps. The number of participants never exceeded forty, including the choir and the orchestra; and often he was obliged to content himself with much fewer. Forty people so crowded the organ gallery that it was very difficult to conduct the group. On the whole, the participants were the same people who sang and played in the church services under the leadership of Buxtehude's brother-in-law, Samuel Franck. The orchestra ordinarily consisted of seven musicians, two of whom usually were at the two organs. The choir, a chorus of men and boys, consisted largely of students from the Katharinenschule, where Franck had charge of the music. The solos as a rule were also sung by pupils of Franck, although occasionally soloists of wider reputation were engaged. Because of the limitations of his choir and orchestra, Buxtehude was not always in a position to present large compositions. Some of them indicate that he found it necessary to write very simply and for a small choir. Thus his cantata, *Jesu, meine Freude*, calls for two sopranos, a bass, two violins, a bassoon, and a contrabass. Several other cantatas were written for similar groups.

In addition to being a director of music, Buxtehude was evidently a successful teacher. Two well-known pupils were Georg Dietrich Leyding (1664-1710), who studied with Reinken and was later organist in Brunswick, and Daniel Erich, who was organist in Güstrow from 1679 to 1712. Another famous organ pupil was Nicolaus Bruhns (1665-1697), also violinist and composer, whose works—which Bach studied and played—reveal the influence of Buxtehude so strongly that at times it is difficult to distinguish his style from that of his teacher.

Buxtehude's most prominent pupil was, of course, J. S. Bach, who,

¹² Quoted by Albert Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

however, was with him for but three months. Forkel maintains that Bach remained in Lübeck without making himself known to Buxtehude, but this view is not shared by most historians of music. It is difficult to determine just how much contact the two men had. Obviously a man like Bach, largely self-taught, did not need many years of study with even a great teacher like Buxtehude. It is interesting to note that Buxtehude was very fond of referring to himself as the *director musices*; Bach's fondness for this same title, particularly during his Leipzig days, may perhaps be traced to Buxtehude's influence. The parallel between the two men, however, should not be pressed too far: they were of totally different temperaments. Buxtehude, for example, did not cause his church council the difficulties which Bach often occasioned his.

Buxtehude died on May 9, 1707, after having lived and worked in Lübeck for forty years. He was buried on May 16. He was greatly beloved in the town, and his death did not, like that of his great pupil Bach, pass almost unnoticed, but was mourned by many.



It is impossible to make a complete, first-hand critical study of the various types of compositions which Dietrich Buxtehude wrote, since undoubtedly some of his MSS still lie unnoticed in the archives of European libraries, and others, very likely, are entirely lost to posterity. When Philipp Spitta in 1875-6, through Breitkopf & Härtel, published the organ compositions of Buxtehude (newly revised by Max Seiffert, 1906), it was believed quite generally that the edition was complete. Certain organ works that Spitta never saw, however, have since been found, and today this collection is known to be incomplete.

Mattheson claimed that Buxtehude's chief strength lay in his music written for the harpsichord.¹³ It is impossible either to substantiate or to dispute this point, since Buxtehude's suites for clavier have never been published, nor has anyone ever found manuscript copies of them. It was through these suites that Buxtehude attracted the attention of the musical world of his day and gained recognition as a composer. Mattheson further reports that Buxtehude "cunningly represented in them the nature and characteristics of the planets." It may seem strange that a composer like Buxtehude sought to produce such non-

¹³ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), p. 130.

musical effects in what has been regarded as his most outstanding music. Nevertheless, it is well to bear in mind that, in the XVIIth century, each of the planets was still quite generally believed to have psychological characteristics and consequent influence on the lives of men. Perhaps Buxtehude tried to reflect these characteristics in his suites for the clavier,¹⁴ and thus really composed what we today would call seven characteristic pieces.

It seems strange, too, that practically nothing is known of the compositions which made the *Abendmusiken* famous.¹⁵ Buxtehude's lot was similar to that of Bach: Schiefferdecker, his son-in-law, was his successor at Lübeck; yet, during the entire twenty-five years in which he served as *director musices* (1707-1732), he did not present a single composition by his father-in-law at the *Abendmusiken*. Each year Schiefferdecker wrote an original "oratorio," and the compositions of his eminent predecessor were forgotten.

It is known that the cantatas written for each series of the *Abendmusiken* constituted a unit and thus impressed one leading thought upon those who heard the performances. This custom may have influenced Bach to write his Christmas oratorio in such a manner that it consisted of six parts which were sung on six Sundays, but at the same time constituted a unit. The titles of several of the cantata-cycles sung at the *Abendmusiken* are known to us: *Die Hochzeit des Lammes, Himmlische Seelen-Lust auf Erden über die Menschwerdung und Geburt unsers Heylandes Jesu Christi*, and *Das Allerschrecklichste und Allererfreulichste, nemlich das Ende der Zeit und der Anfang der Ewigkeit, Gesprächs-weise vorgestellt*.¹⁶

Both music and text of his surviving cantatas are now available in print, thus enabling one to study the traits and style of Buxtehude's vocal and choral music. The texts are very much like those used by Tunder, Pachelbel, and Bach. The Lutheran chorale was employed

¹⁴ Philipp Spitta, "The Life of Bach," I, 264. See also, for some interesting comment on the astrological tradition that Buxtehude was following, Hermann Abert, *Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (1905), 35.

¹⁵ Two numbers by Buxtehude which "have a connection with" the *Abendmusiken* are given by Max Seiffert in the *Denkmäler der deutschen Tonkunst* I. Folge, Bd. 14 (1903). Willy Maxton (*Mitteilungen über eine vollständige Abendmusik Dietrich Buxtehude*, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* X [1928], pp. 387 ff.) describes an anonymous cycle which he attributes to Buxtehude, preserved in an Upsala MS. C. F. Pohl ("Dietrich Buxtehude" in Grove's "Dictionary," 3rd ed.) is misleading in his statement that Spitta's edition of Buxtehude's organ works (1876) include the *Abendmusiken* from 1678 to 1687.

¹⁶ "The Wedding of the Lamb," "Heavenly Delight of the Soul upon Earth over the Birth of our Savior Jesus Christ and His Becoming Man," and "The Most Terrible and Most Joyful of All Things, Namely the End of Time and the Beginning of Eternity, Exhibited in Dialogue."

profusely: pietistic hymn texts, usually abounding in sentimental figures of speech, were often used. People who look for pietistic tendencies in Bach's music and claim to find them in his works to a marked degree usually overlook the fact that at his time sentimental and pietistic poetry was rampant in Germany. Used by practically all composers, it put a definite stamp on most Lutheran music of that period. Buxtehude did not always succumb to the spell of these inferior texts. One of his finest cantatas is his *Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr*, based on Schalling's chorale. This popular hymn is sentimental in spots, but it has exalted and poetic features also: Buxtehude found the real beauty of this hymn and based on it a cantata which is profound and satisfying.

He wrote cantatas for solo voices as well as for choruses. His solo-cantata, *Herr, auf Dich traue ich*,¹⁷ serves as a splendid illustration of his style and genius. It was written for soprano solo, two violins, and *basso continuo*. Its four movements contrast with one another well, as do also the vocal and instrumental parts.

The cantata opens with a prelude of a rather broad character which Buxtehude calls a sonata. The title *sonata* was still used in his day for the opening movement of a cantata, though composers frequently chose the designation *sinfonia*. Some scholars distinguish between these two terms, stating that in the sonata stress was placed on the unity of effect, and in the *sinfonia* importance was attached to the individual parts.

The cantata proper begins quite unassumingly and yet very expressively. Imitation abounds between the parts sung by the soloists and those played by the violinists. Picturesque and symbolical elements appear: whenever Buxtehude comes to the words *lass mich nimmermehr zu schanden werden* ("let me never be confounded"), he represents in a simple, yet striking, manner the perplexed state of a person confounded:

Ex. 1

lass mich nim-mer-mehr zu schan - - - - -
let me nev-er be con - found - - - - -

¹⁷ Ed. by Karl Matthaci, Kassel, Bärenreiter Verlag. English translation (unpublished) by Paul Allwardt, M.S.M. The cantata appears also in Dietrich Buxtehude, *Werke* (Ugrino Verlag, Hamburg, 1925), I, 29.



The instrumental interludes of the first movement consist largely of this figure.

The aria of the cantata is based on four stanzas of a hymn which begins:

*Jesu, ich bin blind von Sinnen,
Blind von auszen und von innen,
Meine Seele siehet nicht.*

Jesus, I am blind of senses,
Blind without me and within me,
And my soul beholdeth not.

It is very melodious in character, and includes a simple ritornello, which lends much beauty to the entire cantata:

Ex. 2



In the appendage to the aria the symbolical element is again employed. The soloist beseeches God:

*Neige deine Ohren zu mir,
eilend hilf mir.*

Incline Thy ear to me,
Make haste to help me.

On the word *neige* ("incline"), the drop of a minor sixth is used to portray the act of inclining. The soloist then sings the next line: a florid passage on the word *eilend* ("hastening") symbolizes haste.

The third and fourth movements of *Herr, auf Dich traue ich* are full of courage, faith, and joy, the third beginning with an Allegro and the fourth closing with a bright Presto. At the words

*und um Deines Namens willen
wollest Du mich leiten*

And for Thy name's sake
Thou wilt ever lead me

a figure is applied to the word *leiten* ("lead") similar to that used with the word *schanden*, only more regular and sequential, depicting the safe and sure guidance of God. An elaborate Amen, two pages long, evinces the joyful and sure faith with which the believer closes his prayer.

Another cantata by Buxtehude, *Ihr lieben Christen, freut euch nun*,¹⁸ is so joyful in character that, hearing it, one is carried away by its very cheer.

It opens with an exotic sinfonia in which eighth- and sixteenth-note figures contrast with each other. The parts played by the strings and the trumpets also furnish striking contrasts.

The sinfonia is followed by a chorale which is sung as a soprano solo. The orchestra accompaniment continues the joyful mood of the sinfonia; but the chorale melody is that of the burial hymn, *Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben*, a very sombre tune. Its sustained character provides a solemn contrasting background for the animated orchestral accompaniment. The solo is given support by the 'cellos and bass violins, carrying parts related canonically to the solo. The contrast is thereby made even more pronounced. As the movement approaches its close, the accompaniment becomes calm and restful. At the end, the accompaniment fairly vanishes, like a shadow.

This sinfonia is an exact transcription of a small chorale prelude which Buxtehude wrote for the organ. It is, however, more effective as a vocal number than as an organ solo, since the accompaniment is decidedly orchestral in character.

A majestic chorus follows, opening with a veritable shout of joy. It is based on the words

*Siehe, der Herr kommt
mit viel tausend Heiligen,
Gerichte zu halten über alle.*

Behold, the Lord cometh
with ten thousands of his saints
to execute judgment upon all.

¹⁸ Ed. by Max Seiffert, Leipzig, Kistner & Siegel (Organum Series); also in *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* I. Folge, Bd. 14 (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903), p. 107.

An eloquent, dramatic *fugato* section begins with the words *mit viel tausend Heiligen*.

Ex. 3

The musical score is for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. It is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The key signature is G major. The tempo/mood is not explicitly stated but the notation suggests a steady, rhythmic movement. The lyrics are in German: "mit viel tausend Heiligen". The score shows a fugato section where the voices enter in sequence, each with a different rhythmic pattern, creating a complex texture. The Soprano and Alto parts have a more melodic line, while the Tenor and Bass parts have a more rhythmic, almost recitative-like quality. The lyrics are: "mit viel tausend Heiligen".

This theme appears repeatedly, the voices and various instruments alternating in its presentation. Thus the idea is conveyed that the saints are coming from all quarters of the earth to appear before the throne. A grand effect is produced when the words *Gerichte zu halten* are sung, first somberly and forebodingly, then suddenly with full force, as the whole scene becomes glorious and wonderful.

Next comes a rather pompous *sinfonia*, replete with trumpet calls. This is followed by a mysterious bass *Arioso*, with the text *Siehe, ich komme bald, und mein Lohn mit mir* ("Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me"), accompanied only by the organ and two muted trumpets which, at the very end, fade mystically away. A delicate movement for semi-chorus ensues, with accompaniment only by the stringed instruments. This may be regarded as the weakest movement of the cantata. The ritornelli, particularly, are somewhat labored and meaningless. But after a short *Amen* section, sung only by the first and second sopranos, the cantata is brought to a brilliant close: trumpets play joyous fanfares while the first violins soar high above the parts sung by the voices.

A choral composition which exerted a strong influence on Johann Sebastian Bach is Buxtehude's cantata based on the chorale *Jesu, meine Freude*.¹⁰ It opens with a sonata, following which the first stanza is sung by two sopranos and a bass while two violins play a descant.

¹⁰ Dietrich Buxtehude, *Werke*, vol. V (Ugrino Verlag, Hamburg, 1933), p. 87.

An exquisite and delicate harmonization accompanies the chorale melody. Ritornelli are interspersed, and another is added at the end.

The second stanza is sung as a soprano solo, accompanied by the organ. The treatment of this stanza is highly ornamental, and the chorale melody is at times inaudible. The orchestral parts in Buxtehude's cantatas are often so brilliant that the instrumentalists fairly smother the chorus. It must be remembered that at this very time the instrumental style of writing was coming into its own, and its effect on vocal works was becoming quite apparent: Germany was beginning to lose the purely vocal style of writing.

The third stanza is sung as a bass solo, with an accompaniment by all the instruments. Buxtehude, it seems, here ignored contour and smooth effects for the sake of giving a literal interpretation to the text. The stanza begins:

*Trotz dem alten Drachen,
Trotz dem Todesrachen,
Trotz der Furcht dazu!
Tobe, Welt, und springe,
ich stehe hier und singe
in gar sichrer Ruh.*

*Gottes Macht hält mich in acht,
Erd und Abgrund musz verstummen,
ob sie noch so brummen.*

Despite the old dragon,
Despite the jaws of death,
Despite the fear of them,
Storm, thou world, and break!

I stand here and sing
At rest and secure;

The power of God watches over me;
Earth and Hell henceforth be still,
Rage they as they will.

The word *trotz* is sung in defiant repetition, and from the first the setting is made very dramatic. Bach does the same thing in his motet based on this hymn. Buxtehude interprets the entire verse very literally. The words *Tobe, Welt, und springe* are interpreted with rolling figures, and effective means are employed to give a vivid rendition of the words *ich stehe hier und singe in gar sichrer Ruh*. Spitta²⁰ calls special attention to Buxtehude's treatment of the word *Abgrund* (literally, "abyss"), at which the bass sings a phrase of powerful descending octaves, and for the word *brummen* (literally, "growling"), at which he sings notes of a low register which represent the growling of a beast.

In the fourth stanza Buxtehude becomes, perhaps, even more dramatic. The opening words, *Weg mit allen Schätzen* ("Go, all earthly treasures"), are treated contrapuntally. Bach's setting of this stanza is so very much like Buxtehude's that the influence is unmistakable. The fifth stanza is sung as a solo by the second soprano, and the sixth is presented

²⁰ Philipp Spitta, "The Life of Bach," I, 308.

by all the instruments and voices, bringing the cantata to a close in colorful and rich harmonies.

Buxtehude did not apply his knowledge of counterpoint so diligently in his cantatas as he did in his compositions for organ alone. His cantatas are, therefore, not so difficult and involved as those of Bach. Very often Buxtehude resorted to the simplest kind of homophony to express what he wished to say. His melodies frequently seem insufficiently developed, and his melodic phrases are often mere repetitions in various registers. This lack of melodic growth within the composition is generally regarded as one of the great weaknesses of his cantatas. On the other hand, this cutting short of the melodic phrase somewhat averted the danger of his music's becoming too subjective and sentimental. The various parts and movements of his cantatas are shorter than those of Bach. They are often separated by ritornelli and other musical interludes. In his solo cantatas the vocal parts are, as a rule, accompanied by very effective instrumental obbligatos, intimately connected with the parts sung by the soloists. His cantatas, usually introduced by a prologue in the form of an instrumental *sinfonia* or *sonata*, customarily close with a kind of vocal epilogue.

Buxtehude also wrote five wedding arias in which his growth and development as a composer may be traced.²¹ These really are strophic songs with ritornelli, written in the style of the time. Although two viola da gambas and a spinet bass furnish the accompaniment in the earliest of these, the harpsichord is the instrument generally used for accompaniment purposes. Two of these arias (the third and fourth) are set to Italian texts. The melodies are suave, and Italian influence is quite evident.

Buxtehude's organ works consist of independent compositions and of preludes, fantasies, and variations based on the Lutheran chorale. His organ compositions have been more available than his other compositions, owing largely to the interest which Johann Walther and J. S. Bach manifested by copying many by hand, thus preserving them for posterity. Buxtehude's absolute organ music is superior to his compositions for organ based on the chorales. Bach evidently realized this fact, for he copied only independent organ compositions. Buxtehude's natural inclinations were to write absolute music when composing for an instrument. Many of the poetic values of the chorales escaped him entirely: the poetic qualities of his chorale preludes are

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 291.

usually due less to the underlying chorale than to Buxtehude's own musical genius. In his cantatas he succeeded in submitting to the spirit of the basic chorale, but in his chorale preludes he was less fortunate and revealed a too independent spirit which thereby doomed many of these compositions.

The chorale preludes of Pachelbel serve as a striking contrast to those of Buxtehude. Pachelbel manifests the very spirit of the chorale, in all its restfulness and solidity. Although he possessed a richly endowed imagination, it did not take flights like those of the Lübeck composer's. Pachelbel permitted the chorale to keep his fantasy in check, and he always seems to have had himself under perfect control. His prelude and fugue on Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch*²² illustrates his ability at its best. He represents the composers of Southern Germany as Buxtehude represents those of the North. Each was a leader in his own field; and the great Bach, through an acquaintance with the music of both, heightened his own knowledge and facility.

It is hardly fair to compare the chorale preludes of Bach with those of Buxtehude, despite the fact that Buxtehude's influence is often evident. Bach lived in a chorale atmosphere; and, it is quite generally agreed, he was at his very best when treating the chorale. He let it be the dominating force. Even the secondary material in these compositions is often taken from various phrases of the underlying chorales. Bach so well "digested" the chorales upon which he based his preludes that they governed and guided him. With Buxtehude the situation was quite different. He found it almost impossible to let the chorale determine the flavor and spirit of many of his chorale preludes. He permitted his fantasy to take flight into distant and strange regions, far removed from the fount. He used harmonies and contrapuntal devices which beclouded the chorale and encircled it with a mist, often so dense and impenetrable that one loses sight of the lovely chorale which serves as the background for his efforts. Even when writing a prelude on so distinctive a hymn as *Ein' feste Burg*, he did not put the chorale into the foreground. On the contrary, the chorale melody is often hard to find.

Not all of Buxtehude's chorale preludes, it is true, betray his weakness. They vary greatly one from the other: some are simple, others quite ingenious, not a few are well developed and crystal-clear. In the simple ones the melody usually moves along serenely with an in-

²² Joseph Bonnet, "Historical Organ-Recitals," New York, G. Schirmer, Inc., 1917, I, 94 ff.

teresting harmonic background and, perhaps, with a few ornamental embellishments. A good example of this type is his charming little prelude on *Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich*.²³

Ex. 4

A fascinating prelude is based on *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*,²⁴ which is simple and clear also, although more ornate and colorful than the previous example:

Ex. 5

²³ Philipp Spitta, ed., *Dietrich Buxtehudes Werke für Orgel* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1876), II, 118.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 80; Straube, *Choralvorspiele alter Meister*, Peters ed., p. 50.



Two other simple and effective preludes are his *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*²⁵ and *Von Gott will ich nicht lassen*.²⁶

Buxtehude was very fond of introducing echo effects into his compositions. One of the best examples occurs in his fantasy on *Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein*.²⁷ Here we find repetitions, at times in the octave, and imitations which serve hardly any other purpose than to provide the performer with effective echo passages.

It is impossible to understand Buxtehude's music without bearing in mind that his personality had more than one facet. In many of his compositions, notably his choral works, he shows himself to be a devoutly religious man. In others he displays his artistry and subordinates the manifestation of his strong religious convictions. Again he appears in both capacities, and he does not hesitate at times to brush aside all demarcations between sacred and secular elements by converging both into a unit which is decidedly hybrid. The foremost example, probably, of this type is his set of variations on the chorale *Auf meinen lieben Gott*.²⁸ Instead of basing his variations strictly on the chorale, he sets them to dance forms and rhythms so clear and distinct that their structural identity is unmistakable. Though written in such forms as

²⁵ Spitta, *op. cit.*, II, 78.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 126; Jos. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, I, 82.

²⁷ Spitta, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 132.

the sarabande, courante, and gigue, the music is stately, dignified, and sober.

Ex. 6

(a) Sarabande

(b) Courante

(c) Gigue

He was not the first to set chorales to dance rhythms: Pachelbel had done something similar; and Mattheson cites examples to illustrate how a hymn tune may be converted to a dance tune.²⁹ Frotscher points out the fact that in Buxtehude's day it was not unusual to hear dance forms played at the organs in churches, and that people did not always associate these rhythms with the dance itself.³⁰ But it is difficult to understand why Buxtehude associated dance forms and rhythms with *Auf meinen lieben Gott*, a hymn of sober faith and serious comfort, not one of joy and jubilation. Apparently we have here a manifestation of Buxtehude's natural and innate preference for pure music. He experienced no difficulty whatsoever in dissociating music from its text. This the great Bach did not do. Buxtehude's variations, however, do not include the subtle and ornate figures commonly found in variations of

²⁹ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: 1739), pp. 161 ff.

³⁰ Gotthold Frotscher, *Geschichte des Orgelspiels and der Orgelkomposition*, p. 442.

his day. His works of this genre cannot be compared, for example, with Bach's *Goldberg Variations*, unquestionably the most highly developed and most ingenious set written in that period.

Buxtehude's independent preludes and fugues are monumental in the field of organ music. Despite the many objections voiced against them, they are becoming more and more widely accepted. While one formerly heard at organ recitals only such compositions as the Gigue Fugue or the Prelude, Fugue, and Chaconne in C Major, one today not infrequently hears other of his great works played.

There is a popular appeal in many of Buxtehude's pieces. He is particularly fond of using themes which consist largely of repeated notes, aptly called "laughing themes." About one third of his larger organ works have principal themes in which repeated notes predominate.

Ex. 7^a

Fugue in G minor

Ex. 7^b

Fugue in D major

Ex. 7^c

Fugue in B-flat major



Another trait found in his compositions is his fondness for gigue rhythms and figures, to indicate joy. His Gigue Fugue in C Major is played perhaps more frequently than any other of his compositions because it is highly exhilarating and yet fairly simple. Bach's Gigue Fugue for the organ is so much like Buxtehude's that the direct influence is very obvious. In his toccatas also, Buxtehude used the gigue form to express rapture and gaiety. In his first F Major Toccata³¹ (in Spitta's order) he plunges into a gigue as early as the twelfth measure. In the second F Major Toccata,³² however, he uses a fugue which is based on repeated notes to express intense joy.

The preludes of Buxtehude are usually based on a rather ornate subject which occurs repeatedly in various voices, and also in the pedal. They are distinctly contrapuntal: imitation and other polyphonic devices are used in them profusely. Brilliant pedal passages, calling for great dexterity and highly developed pedal technique, are often inserted to lend vitality.

We might contrast them with those of Bach, *e.g.* the three-section St. Anne's fugue. This composition is, of course, the development of one principal theme: Bach has welded the three sections together in such a manner that they constitute a clearly recognizable entity, his principal theme appearing in all sections. Buxtehude's fugues, on the other hand, impress some organists as being fragmentary, even though the new subject is developed out of the first, and the first is foreshadowed in the prelude. This development of new material out of what has gone before had been started already by Frescobaldi, carried into Northern Germany by Tunder, and perpetuated by Buxtehude. The resulting form provides an interesting contrast to the one favored by Bach.

³¹ Philipp Spitta, ed., *Dietrich Buxtehudes Werke für Orgel* (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1876), I, 103 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 111 ff.



Many sections of this composition call to mind Bach's great Passacaglia in C Minor, though Bach's independence may be seen in the fact that he does not hesitate to take the theme out of the bass to transfer it to the upper voice. Bach worked with a theme of eight measures and remained in the tonic key throughout. On the whole, Buxtehude's passacaglia is not as dramatic as Bach's. Anyone desiring to ascertain in which respects Bach was a greater master than Buxtehude should study the two passacaglias. Even from a purely technical point of view, Bach here reveals his pre-eminence. He was influenced by Buxtehude, and yet he surpassed him. Nevertheless, Buxtehude's passacaglia is an outstanding composition. Spitta even goes so far as to say, "There is no piece of music of that time known to me which surpasses it, or even approaches it, in affecting, soul-piercing intensity of expression."³⁵

However, one must study also the chaconnes of Buxtehude to discover how much he influenced the Bach of the C Minor Passacaglia. Numerous passages in Buxtehude's chaconnes call to mind this work of Bach's, *e.g.*:

Ex. 9

Chaconne in E minor



Buxtehude's Chaconne in C Minor is a very impassioned piece of music. In it he does not hesitate to repeat his phrases either literally or in some slightly varied form. Some may feel that he does this to satisfy his fond-

³⁵ Philipp Spitta, "The Life of Bach," I, 282.

ness for echo effects, while others may conclude that these repetitions are expressions of his enraptured spirit. Spitta refers to this composition as "a work full of wailing longing."³⁶ Like other composers, Buxtehude also changes the rhythmical setting of the theme in order to achieve variety. In his E Minor Chaconne one will find even more striking examples of rhythmical alteration. There he uses also harmonic materials and devices which help to intensify what he is trying to say. Thus we have the following passage:

Ex 10



Concerning this passage Spitta says, "His individual style of harmony unfolds itself here in all its fullness and intensity of expression, and the hearer is overpowered by the melting sweetness of its melancholy."³⁷

As one studies Buxtehude's chaconnes and passacaglia one cannot help marveling at the manner in which he refuses to let himself be rigidly bound by the laws of strict polyphony. But he does not permit himself to run amuck either. These compositions are very figurate in character, and yet Buxtehude has not lost himself in his designs. His *bassi ostinati* are clearly separated from the music of the upper voices, and yet a close and unifying relationship exists between them.

That some of the themes used by Buxtehude bear a close relation-

³⁶ Philipp Spitta, "The Life of Bach," I, 280.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

ship to those used by other composers of the time, such as Böhm and Bach, is well known. In the XVIIth and early XVIIIth centuries, themes were simply regarded as common property, so that using a theme which some other composer had invented was not considered plagiarizing. Composers were also not afraid to repeat almost literally what they had used in previous compositions. We are aware that Bach repeated whole choruses, changing only the text. So in Buxtehude's music many phrases and sections may be found which remind one very strongly of some which he had written on other occasions.

Buxtehude's music has not been performed to any great extent in America. Our organists, nevertheless, are beginning to appreciate him more and more, and the day will come when our musicians generally will delve more deeply into the treasure he has left. Their ever growing worship of Bach will lead them to occupy themselves increasingly with the choral and instrumental music of his forerunners and contemporaries. A parallel development, leading from curiosity to serious study and fairly frequent performance, has already taken place in England, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, and other European countries. As musicians everywhere become better acquainted with the *director musices* of Lübeck, they will learn to regard him as one of the truly great composers and musicians of all time. It was none other than Albert Schweitzer who has said, "In Buxtehude everything is interesting."³⁸

³⁸ Albert Schweitzer, "J. S. Bach," p. 49.

SHAKER SONGS

By EDWARD D. ANDREWS

IN SPITE of the widespread interest in American folk-song and balladry and all the research expended on the rites of primitive cults in this country, the underivative music, spiritual songs, and religious dances of a sect located in New England have been left, for some reason, entirely neglected. The form of worship practised by the Shakers has been a subject of curiosity for a century and a half, but no treatise exists on the native art of this communistic-religious order; and its inspirational songs, whose sprightly tunes are strikingly different from the psalmody of the Puritans, are still unknown. It is the purpose of this article to describe briefly the circumstances under which the so-called vision and gift songs of the Shakers were received, to give a representative selection of the compositions themselves, and to indicate how the songs were employed in the sacred marches and quick dances of the sect. The paper, based on manuscripts in the author's collection, is condensed from an extensive study of Shaker songs and dances soon to be published.

The United Society of Shakers, "Shaking Quakers" or "Believers in Christ's Second Appearing," had its origins in the English Quaker church and the continental movement of the so-called "French Prophets" or Camisards. Its founder, Ann Lee (called Mother Ann by her followers), came to America in 1774, with eight companions, and finally settled at Niskeyuna or Watervliet, New York, in 1776. Attention was drawn to her gospel in 1780, a time of religious revivalism in that part of the country, and during the next decade (Ann died in 1784) her doctrines rapidly took root in various sections of New England and eastern New York. Before 1792, eleven communities had been established on a foundation of common property and separation from the world; and, soon after the turn of the century, six more were organized in Kentucky and Ohio. The Shakers believed in celibacy, separation and equality of the sexes, formal confession, the second coming of Christ (in the person of Ann Lee), a masculine-feminine Deity, the millennium, and the eternal progression of the soul. Divine revelation was the ultimate source of all government and guidance.

Five Shaker societies still exist at New Lebanon, N. Y. (the site of the central church and ministry); Watervliet, N. Y.; Hancock, Mass.; Sabbathday Lake, Maine; and Canterbury, N. H.

* *

*

New England psalm tunes were part of the inheritance of the early Shakers, and the solemnity of these religious songs was reflected in the first hymnals written or printed within the society. But the Puritan or Quaker literature of worship was too orthodox for the use of a sect devoted to inspiration, given to the free expression of primitive emotion, and believing in the dance and bodily movement as high forms of praise. In the revivalistic ardor and aspiration attendant upon the preaching of the gospel of Christ's Second Appearing, reverence that was passive and restrained had little place. Where no songs existed to express the ecstasy of the new life, the conventional anthems of the period were adapted to the more sober parts of the service, or rewritten to record the ideology of Mother Ann Lee. But more and more the songs took on a lively spontaneity, a fresh and imaginative language, and a distinct folk character. Religious gatherings became exalted play, recreation transfigured, a cross between the expectant orderliness of a Quaker meeting and the wild abandonment that characterized the rituals of the French Prophets, from whom the Shakers distantly stemmed.

It was during the decade of the so-called "spirit manifestations" that inspirationalism reached its fullest and least self-conscious expression. In this period of revivalism (1837-1847), and for some years after, countless tunes, dances, and spiritual songs were composed. Some had musical scores or metrical form, while others were little more than outbursts of sentiment. In all the eastern Shaker societies, and in those of Kentucky and Ohio, songs assumed a strange new character during the year 1837. Previously written only by those gifted in the art of psalmody, they began to issue from among the common people of the society, the young and old, the sisters and brethren. It was the dawn of spiritualism in America, years before the advent of the Fox sisters and the famous rappings at Rochester. Members of the Shaker order were everywhere sensitive to mysterious influences, everywhere receptive to the inspirational gifts which came to them in visions and dreams.

At Enfield, N. H., in the above year, while a power "exercised" a group of young girls in dancing, shaking, and whirling, some of the number lapsed into unconsciousness and began to sing "new and beau-

tiful songs." Similar phenomena were reported about the same time in other communities. When the subjects affected awoke from their trances or visions, the songs were carefully recorded, sometimes by the one who had received the "gift," sometimes by a "scribe" or instrument who had overheard it or to whom it was again sung. Often the "gift" was not a song but a spiritual message or some imaginary present, such as a "mantle of grace," a "bowl of love," a "helmet of strength," a "basket of simplicity," a "cup of Mother's wine," or various spiritual fruits and flowers. The messages and presents, as well as the gift or vision songs, usually came from Mother Ann Lee or other departed Shaker saints, from the Savior, from angels with resounding names, or from the omniscient presence known as Holy Mother Wisdom, the female element of the Deity.

Chosen instruments (rarely called mediums) were the chief recipients of such songs; and constantly, for fifteen years or so, these inspired individuals were transcribing and "noting" or "pricking" verses sent from the spiritual plane. The songs became a part of the worship of the Believers. They were practised in "singing meetings" during the week, and used either as a separate part of the Sabbath meeting, or as an accompaniment for traditional or original dances.

A few examples of the circumstances under which the "extra" songs of the epoch were received will illustrate their often fantastic origin:

"Trumpet of Peace" (dated June 19, 1839) "was sung by the Angel of light that Mother saw at masthead, when she was crossing the Ocean, and this ship sprung a leak. Elder Sister Olive heard Mother Ann and Father William sing it, and she begged it of them; for she wanted we should have it. And sent it to Betsy B." (It is not known, in connection with most of these songs, who actually composed the words and music. "Trumpet of Peace," for instance, was a gift to Betsy Bates, but the song may have been originally received by some other inspired instrument in the society.)

"A Nightingale" was learned "from a Nightingale that was given to Br. Jonathan by Sister Susannah Ellice."

"Holy Selan" was the name of an angel seen by the instrument Semantha Fairbanks. "This holy angel came into the meeting room with sister Ascaneth, and while she sat waiting for us to come in, this Angel stood by her side & sung this song." (In this case, the song was directly revealed to the instrument.)

"Squaw Song" was "Sung . . . in the Dairy room, Sabbath evening by a little Squaw."

"The Comforting Angel" was "Sung to Mother Ann when in Poughkeepsie Jail & in deep tribulation by the Holy Angel that attended her."

"An Indian Song" was sent "to Brother John M. from an Indian man who met with him when traveling in the Ohio country, he was in trouble and John spoke kindly to him."

"Holy Order" was sung by Mother Ann to Father Joseph, "when he had a gift to labour in square order. Elder S. Olive sung it to . . . for she knew we had wanted to know so much how he got it." (The name of the instrument is erased in the manuscript book of songs. Elder Sister Olive Spencer, who had died several years before these songs were written, was the spiritual medium through whom many of the gift songs were received from other spirits.)

The song "Watchfulness" was written on a gold heart that Elder Sister Olive sent to Joanna K. "A Kitchen Visit" was sent "From Mother Lucy to those that worked in the kitchen." A song received July 25, 1839, was "learned from a little bright light that moved around his [Deacon Stephen Munson's] head, a few inches off." Another song was sent to two sisters, with a cake of manna and a cup of water, "to refresh them." A certain march "was sung and harped by 4 hundred and 44 angels every morning, from the first day of Mother Ann's voyage from England to the day they landed on this happy land of Freedom." One song was learned "from a little blue ball suspended by a gold cord in the midst of the singing ring in our Saturday evening meeting. The words were written on the ball. It turned round, and kept time with the song."

Though the character, content, and form of the Shaker "inspirational" are extremely varied, and though the attendant physical movement is not always a formal dance, it is possible to divide the songs roughly into general groups, and it may prove helpful to do so. Our classification is admittedly arbitrary. The groups are not mutually exclusive. But even so the main characteristics and differences should, we believe, stand out with reasonable clarity. The melodies are sometimes omitted in this paper. Where that happens, the original punctuation is retained intact; where the melodies are given, it is altered only to the extent that hyphens are inserted to show the relationship between syllables and notes in the customary manner. The original spelling and versification are retained throughout.

I. *Songs on the themes of simplicity, humility, or repentance.*

These were basic virtues with the Believers, as with all religious

Come and I have come and place my love and blessing
on you

You are mine, you are mine

This is the day which

I have come and placed my love and blessing

on you

Rememberance to Sister Molly B.

Dec. 2, 8th 1899

Glor ho ho
e-e-e-e-e

Mother Lucy said
 she thought it would please Mother
 to receive this leaf, and to add
 to your fern; and, how completely the song
 borders the leaf. She says Mother likes
 to see pretty things; and the
 name of this leaf is:
 Problems.

Sheet
ho ho
Now while my love is flowing You are not forgotten You are mine You are mine My Suan Yin Come and share come and share Of my love and blessing For with the faithful you shall have a happy happy mansion

Emblematic "leaf-song" with typical letter notes (transcribed below the illustration) used by the Shakers

INSCRIPTION: To my Sana Vince. This is [a] golden leaf which was gathered from the Tree of songs. Mother Lucy ¹ sends this by Elder Sister Olive;² with her kind love and remembrance to Sister Molly B.—Learned . . . Nov. 28th 1839. Thanksgiving day.

INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF PAGE OR LEAF: Mother Lucy said she thought it would please Molly to receive this leaf, and be able to see its form; and, how completely the song borders the leaf. She says Molly likes to see pretty things; and the name of this leaf is,

Emblem.

¹ Mother Lucy Wright, the spiritual head of the Shaker society, "in the female line," after the death of Mother Ann Lee in 1784. Died in 1821.

² Elder Sister Olive Spencer, who died at the New Lebanon community in 1834, was the intermediary in the spirit world through whom Mother Lucy, Mother Ann, and others sent many gift songs during the period of inspiration. Molly B. was a sister at the Church family in the above community. In the space after the word "Learned" originally appeared the name of the mortal instrument who received and transcribed the song.

orders of a monastic nature. The songs were often accompanied by gesture or pantomime.

"Tis the Gift to be Simple" is a "lively" song, and could be used as part of a quick dance.

Ex. 1

Tis the gift to be sim-ple Tis the gift to be free Tis the
gift to come down Where we ought to be, And when we find our-selves In the
place just right, Twill be in the val-ley Of love and de-light.—
When true sim-pli-ci-ty is gained, To bow and to bend We—shant be a—
shamed, To turn turn will be our de-light, Till by turn-ing turn-ing we come round right.

(Probably first sung at Hancock about 1849)

A quick, round dance:

*Wake up, stir about,
Be more spry and nimble*

*Brush off this nasty pride
That binds mother's children.*

The following "standing" song, called "Mother's Child," was sung during a stationary part of the dance:

*Just as Mother says
I want to do
O I feel very humbel
and low*

*If she wants me to shake
turn or reel
Just as Mother says
I do feel.*

A true "low" song is the following "vision tune" received by Sally Van Vyke of the Hill family at New Lebanon. It is dated January, 1838:

Ex. 2

Low-ly is the soul that cri-eth to— God, low, low, low, low,
low, low, Love, love is pret-ty love flow-ing from our Mo-ther,
Love, love is pret-ty love flow-ing from the foun-tain low, low, low.

(Sally Van Dyke. Gift song. New Lebanon, about 1838)

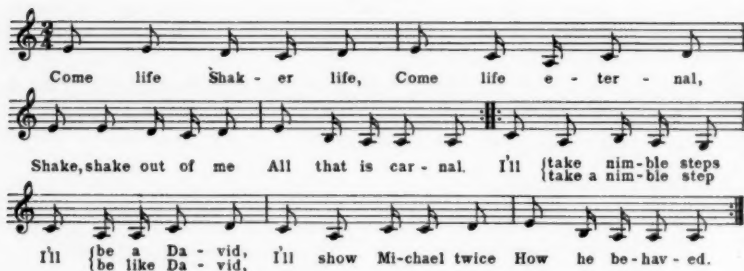
The singers bowed low when singing certain songs of simplicity, such as this one:

<i>I will bow and be simple</i>	<i>I will bow, this is the token</i>
<i>I will bow and be free</i>	<i>I will wear the easy yoke</i>
<i>I will bow and be humble</i>	<i>I will bow and be broken</i>
<i>Yea bow like the willow-tree</i>	<i>Yea I'll fall upon the rock.</i>

II. Songs relating to spiritual freedom and "freedom from bondage."

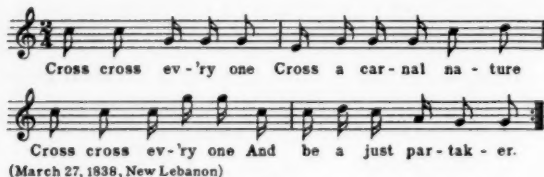
In many of these songs, the sense of ridding oneself of a carnal spirit was expressed by a violent shaking of the body. The following were popular songs of the period:

Ex. 3



Come life Shak - er life, Come life e - ter - nal,
Shake, shake out of me All that is car - nal. I'll {take nim-ble steps / take a nim-ble step}
I'll {be a Da - vid, / be like Da - vid,} I'll show Mi - chael twice How he be - hav - ed.

Ex. 4



Cross cross ev - 'ry one Cross a car - nal na - ture
Cross cross ev - 'ry one And be a just par - tak - er.
(March 27, 1838, New Lebanon)

*My carnal life I will lay down
Because it is depraved
I'm sure on any other ground
I never can be saved.*

*My haughty spirit I'll subdue
I'll seek humiliation
And if I'm true my work to do
I'll know I'll find salvation.
South Union (Ky.) June 1838.*

HOLY POWER

*I'll shake off bondage
I'll shake off pride
I'll shake off every band
That's round me tied*

*I want to turn
And twist and reel
No matter how much
This power I feel.*

Oct. 26, 1850.

AN INDIGNANT SHAKE

*I hate my pride deceit and lust
I'll war with them forever
I know of God they are accurst
And every good Believer.*

*No peace with them I'll ever make
They're doomed to desolation
Against them now I want to Shake
Shake with indignation.*

The innocent and child-like quality of the Shaker religious spirit is illustrated by the following:

Ex. 5

I have a lit - tle drum that Mo - ther gave to
me, the pret-tiest lit-tle drum that ev - er you did see, I'll drum night and
day, I'll drum night and day to call vo - lun-teers to fight sin a - way.

(Shirley, about 1852)

A song expressive of the great joy felt at being free from sin:

*Come come turn away
Twist away from bondage
No matter what means you use
This to accomplish.*

*Reel and stagger, twist about
Laugh a little—ha, ha.
O it is a feeling good
To be from bondage far.*

Another is called "Dismission of the Devil":

*Be joyful be joyful
Be joyful be joyful
For Old Ugly is going*

*Good riddance good riddance
Good riddance we say
And dont you never come here again.*

Determination and hatred of evil supply the dominant note in the following round dance. It suggests Indians dancing round an enemy who is being burned at the stake.

*Keep the fire a-burning
Keep the wheel a-turning
Never mind the squirming
Of the Old Deceiver.*

*He's got to feel the strong rack
He's got to stand a-w-a-y back,
He cannot walk the pure track
Of a good Believer.*

A "sacred march" expressing a typical childlike hatred of the devil:

*I hate the Old deceiver
He is an unbeliever
I will have nothing to do
With the old deceiver.*

*And when he comes round
I will tell him leave the ground
Or the first he will know
He'll receive a heavy blow.*

III. Songs in the imagined tongues of various races.

When the Shakers were "visited" by Indian spirits or spirits from other nations, they behaved in a manner supposedly characteristic of the race or nation of the spirit possessing them. "Indian" and "squaw" songs were most common. Represented also were songs allegedly linked with the Negroes, Arabs, Hottentots, Abyssinians, Eskimos, Chinese, French, and Scotch.

Three typical "Indian" songs are given below. "Shiny" is the favorite word for "white"; the "shiney Mudder" is, of course, Mother Ann.

*This be de way shiney Mudder say me go
Shake a little, turn a little bow low low
Dis make me simple dis make me free
Dis make me happy you all see.*

*

*Me rise me rise in mighty power
And show and show me Indian grit
Me trample down de soft de flat
And everyting dat be like dat.*

*

*Me bless the cross it brings me low
It fits me for the Shiny Word.
Altho to lift it heavy be
What be beneath it comfort me.*

An "Indian" dance song, reported by an observer at a mountain meeting in Hancock, is described as more theatrical than silly. It was an extemporaneous number, sung and danced by a young Shaker sister:

*Te he, te how, te hoot, te te hoot,
Me be Mother's pretty pappose,
Me ting, me dant, te I diddle um,
Because me here to whities come,*

*He di diddy, ti diddle O;
Round, around, and round me go,
Me leap, me jump, e up and down,
On good whity, shiny ground.*

"Black Bills Wonderment" is a "Negro" song received at Canterbury:

*Why I wonder you dont laugh a little
 laugh a little and laugh a little
 Why I wonder you aint all reeling
 backwards forwards side ways and down ward
 Why I wonder you can go so straight
 and keep such a slick and curious shape
 For of Mother's wine I've got a small portion
 And it sets me into a staggering motion.
 Well well, I'm willing to stagger
 stagger stagger away from bondage
 Well well I'm willing to reel
 reel reel reel into freedom.*

An example of a "Chinese" song:

*Hiang tron doo
 Yi yang yon doo*


*Yan cu yon ke
 Hi ti con ke.*

IV. Songs in unknown tongues.

Sometimes these numbers were unrhymed gibberish; but often the mysterious syllables were set to music and solemnly learned. Many of the songs had the vivacious spirit of children's nonsense ditties and play-songs. Interpretations or "translations" were occasionally given in the manuscript hymn-books in which the songs were inscribed. Sometimes a song was only partly composed in the unknown tongue.

The following song is dated March 4, 1838:

Ex. 6



Nis - ka - ra - ra sen - e - go cal - la - ma - na go
 Mic-ka-ni-na per-la-nin-na cal-la-ma-na go Ni-dra ca-dra cal-la-ma-na
 cal-la-ma-na go Mic-ka-nin-na per-la-nin-na cal-la-ma-na go.

(March 4, 1838, New Lebanon)

Another, from Hancock:

*O calivin criste I no vole
 Calivin criste liste um*

*I no vole vinin ne viste
 I no vole viste vum.*

V. *Ritual Songs.*

These were sung as part of a religious rite or special form of worship. The ritual could be elaborate and extended, as in "Mother Ann's Sweeping Gift" and the famous "Midnight Cry"; or comparatively brief, as in episodes in which spiritual gifts were received.

Songs in this group, as well as those in the four preceding classes, might be accompanied by pantomime, expressive gesture, or movements superfluous to the actual conduct of the dance. Sometimes the pantomime was practised before the meeting; often it was involuntary, ecstatic, complex. The formal rituals were perfected in advance. Other action, or "labouring" as the Shakers called it—the "working up" of the spirit—was the natural expression of religious zeal: it might begin deliberately and then develop into wild disorder, reaching a climax only when the subject fell to the floor exhausted or entranced.

As the following song was sung, the singers performed on their knees the imaginary operation of cleaning the floor:

Ex. 7

Bow down low, bow down low, wash, wash, clean, clean, clean, clean.

Scour and— scrub, scour and scrub from this floor the stains of— sin.

(Dec. 17, 1841)

Here are three variants of the sweeping gift. The first, called "Decisive Work," was sung by the Savior and Mother Ann on Saturday evening, February 21, 1845:

*I have come
And I've not come in vain
I have come to sweep the house of the Lord clean, clean
For I've come
And I've not come in vain
With my broom in my hand,
with my fan, and my flail
For lo! I have come
And I've not come in vain.*

*

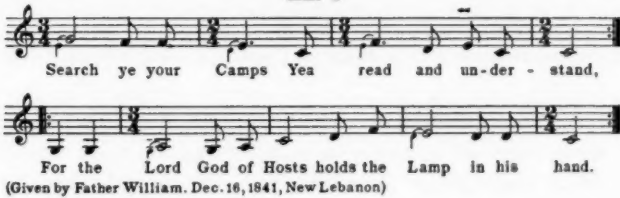
*Sweep high and sweep low
Sweep clean as you go
Sweep sweep
O sweep and cleanse this floor.*

The third sweeping song is credited to the instrument, Eleanor Potter of New Lebanon. It is dated March 27, 1839:

*Sweep sweep and cleanse your floor
Mother's standing at the door
She'll give us good and precious wheat,
With which there is no chaff nor cheat,
I'll sow my wheat upon the ground
That's plough'd and till'd and where is found
A faithful labour of the field
That it a rich increase may yield.*

In the annual sweeping gift or purification rite, the sisters and brethren marched through the dwelling, shops, and yards, putting everything in order that was out of place, and cleaning everything that was dirty. Over and over, as they marched, these lines were sung:

Ex. 8



VI. Dance songs.

Many Shaker songs are subordinate to the dance, the words being expressive primarily of the exhilaration of movement. The following are light, gay-hearted examples:

*Like pretty birds among the trees
I will be all in motion
And sing and skip upon the breeze
Of love and sweet devotion*

*For lo it is a happy time
A time of making merry
Of heavenly comforts all divine
And very cheering very.*

*

*Come dance and sing around the ring
Live in love and union
Dance and sing around the ring*

*Live in sweet communion
Sing with life, live with life
Sing with life and power.*

The next song was probably a children's dance:

*Come little children all unite
Come let us sing and dance some,
In simple gifts we will delight,
We know the play is handsome.*

*My soul is filled with life and zeal,
It puts me in commotion,
I'll move as swift as any skiff
Or wheel upon the ocean.*

The spirit of David is in the singer of this dance song:

<i>I used to dance before the Lord</i>	<i>I'll not be bound by any man</i>
<i>Which grievèd Michael sorely</i>	<i>Nor yet by woman's fancies</i>
<i>I'll dance and dance and dance again</i>	<i>I am a merry merry soul</i>
<i>Her pride shall never hold me.</i>	<i>I'm lively in the dances.</i>

Another:

Ex. 9

Wake up be a-live step the tune with pow-er Zea-lous be to
grow and thrive eve-ry day and hour Shuf-fle so-lid firm and strong
Eve-ry mo-tion lim-ber While yon tune the ho-ly song Of Zi-ons cho-sen num-ber.
(A round dance. Ascribed to Cynthia Ann. No date, but probably composed at Enfield, N.H. about 1849)

VII. Gift songs.

All songs received in vision or trance from the spirit world were called gift or vision songs. The term was also applied when the song celebrated the reception of some imaginary gift, such as "a cup of love," "a gold cord of affection," "a staff of spiritual strength," "a fan to blow away buffetings," etc.

A simple illustration is "Mother's love:"

Ex. 10

Mo-thers love gold in the hand, Mo-thers love gold in the hand.
(Nov. 30, 1838, New Lebanon)

"Baskets of Treasures" came from Poland Hill, Maine, in 1847:

*Here's some pretty little baskets filled with love
And many precious treasures, says Mother's little dove
Here are jewels and diamonds and many pretty rings
I have borne them to you on my silver wings
So good brethren and sisters I'm not bound,
If you will receive them I will throw them round.*

Another "treasure song," from Enfield, N. H., dated 1849:

*Only look look and see
Pretty treasures given me
One and two three and four
All of these and many more*

*Mother says we may play
In this simple pretty way
Count the Jewels roll the ball
Have simplicity with all.*

VIII. Songs of spiritual love and union.

A number of Shaker songs might be called love or union songs. The phrase, "More love," was used as a greeting by the early Shakers, and in many songs the word "love," like "low," is repeated over and over again. A typical example is entitled "Heavenly Love":

*Love, love, O I love,
Love, love, O I love,*

*Love, love, heavenly love,
O, yea, its heavenly love.*

A "love" song with the imagery of children at play:

*Hear ye, hear ye, hear ye the trumpet
toot, toot, toot,
Its Mother's golden trumpet,
Its Mother's golden trumpet,
Its Mother's golden trumpet,
toot, toot, toot.
Mother is calling, she's calling, calling her children
toot, toot, toot.
She's calling, she's calling, calling her children
under the banner of love.*

(The above song was learned at White Water, Ohio,
by Archibald M. June, 1843.)

A union song:

*Come, sister, come
Lets all be one,
For you're as good as I am,*

*There is no cause
For picking flaws
For we're all going to Zion.*

The following union song is very early. When it is rendered, the brethren and sisters form in ranks. Someone steps out and goes down the line singing the song and greeting each individual in turn by holding out both hands.

A brother sings:

*Take my hands in brotherly love
In brotherly love,
In brotherly love,*

*O, take my hands in brotherly love
For love is our communion.*

A sister sings:

*Take my hands in sisterly love,
In sisterly love,
In sisterly love,*

*O take my hands in sisterly love,
For love is our communion.*

All:

*O I feel its good to be here
Good to be here,
Good to be here,*

*O I feel its good to be here
For love is our communion.*

IX. Miscellaneous songs.

(a) "*Drinking*" songs. In the ecstasy of the dance, the Shakers became spiritually intoxicated with the "wine" of Mother Ann's love. Often their gestures included pantomime in which they represented the receiving and draining of cups.

The following song was sung *allegro*:

Ex. 11

Drink ye of mo-thers wine Drink drink drink ye free-ly Drink ye of mo-thers wine

It will make you lim-ber If it makes you reel a-round If it makes you

fall down If it lays you on the floor Rise and take a lit-tle more.

(Church family, New Lebanon, 1851)

"Who will bow and bend like a willow" is also a quick song:

*Who will bow and bend like a willow
Who will turn and twist and reel,
In the gale of simple freedom
From the bower of union blowing
Who will drink the wine of power
Dropping down like a shower*

*Pride and bondage all forgetting
Mother's wine is freely working
O ho! I will have it
I will bow and bend to get it
I'll be reeling turning twisting,
Shake out all the starch and stiffening.*

The following was sent from Ohio to Betsy Bates at New Lebanon:

<i>O my Mothers wine I love it</i>	<i>O it makes me feel so pretty</i>
<i>O my Mothers wine I love it</i>	<i>O it makes me feel so low</i>
<i>O my Mothers wine I love it</i>	<i>O it makes the devil hate me</i>
<i>It will make me stagger</i>	<i>When all evil has to go.</i>

(b) *Bird songs.* In this group are songs received from doves or nightingales. The birds are singers themselves, or carriers of songs from some spirit.

"Coo coo" was "learned from a nightingale that Sussannah Ellis gave to Jonathan Wood at New Lebanon":

Ex. 12

Coo, coo, coo, coo chil-a coth-a coo — I'll bring you mo-thers love I will
bring you mo-thers bless-ing, It is a pret-ty trea-sure a trea-sure worth pos-sess-ing.

(Received by E[leanor Porter?] June 17, 1839)

A dove song:

<i>O what is this that sounds so sweet</i>	<i>gather up gather up</i>
<i>'tis Mothers pritty Dove</i>	<i>Gather every crumb</i>
<i>I have come I have come</i>	<i>here is love here is love</i>
<i>with a store of love</i>	<i>free for every one.</i>

Sept. 1842.

In the following number, the singer imagines she is a bird, just as other singers thought they were Indian squaws, etc.:

<i>I am a little bird, I sing complete</i>	<i>I can dance, and I can hop,</i>
<i>Time the tune with my little feet,</i>	<i>I can shout and wake you up.</i>

(c) *Songs of welcome or departure.* These were composed for special occasions, particularly those times when the ministry was arriving for a visit, or taking its leave.

(d) *Shepherdess songs.* These were said to have been sung by a mythical personage known as the "sheperdess," who visited the Shaker societies in 1844.

(e) *Songs without words.* The melodies of songs in this group were hummed or intoned. To it belong the "harp songs" played on an imaginary instrument.

(f) *Prayer songs.* These were solemn songs, often to long prose-poems.

(g) *Special songs.* Hundreds of songs elude classification. For instance, this one from the Hill family at New Lebanon:

*Holy Holy Holy is our blessed Mother
She calls her children to be straight, straight,
straight
no crooks by the way.*

Here are three more:

*Chip a way chip a way
Chip a way chip a way.*

*Like the little busy bee
I'll fly around and be so free*

*I'll sip the honey from the hive
And this will make me all alive.*

*How long shall Zion be troubled
with those who do not honor her.*

*The fan is now blowing,
the fan is now blowing,
blow blow and sever the wheat.*

The traditional dances of the Shakers evolved a precise, well-practised technique, and should not be confused with the fantastic rituals or the various pantomimic or ecstatic "labourings" of the body, which were loosely co-ordinated, if at all. The true dance was either a march or a quick dance and there were numerous variants of each. The slow or "sacred" march, for instance, might be one of a number of round or circular dances, sometimes very complex; or it might be a forward and backward movement in ranks. The "Square Order" was done in squares, with the singers stationed in the center, as in the circular marches. Special steps, known as the "shuffle" or "double shuffle," characterized both the march and the quick dance. "Shuffling tunes," "walking" or "step tunes," "shouting songs," and "standing" songs were usually composed to march time.

In the quick dance the step was a lively, loping or trotting movement. Whereas in the march the forearms were extended with palms up as though to receive blessings, in the quick dance arms and hands (with palms down) were loosely flexed, waving in time with the song or tune. In both forms, the worshippers were placed in ranks or files, usually of two or three; and varied "manoeuvres" were executed within

the general pattern of the circle and square. The dance that made use of the circle within a circle, a figure with symbolic significance, was a favorite; other measures received special names such as the "Winding March," "Lively Line," "Changeable Dance," "Double Square," "Mother's Star," "Cross and Diamond," "Finished Cross," "Lively Ring," "Moving Square," "Square and Compass," and "Celestial March." In the "stationary quick dances," the votaries shuffled in one spot before moving onward. Complicated figures were religiously practised before the meeting; but in the fervor of the livelier dances, one or more participants (and sometimes the whole assembly) might break from the ranks to shake, whirl, shout, and sing in utter abandonment.

For introducing the dance into their worship, the Shakers suffered severe criticism and persecution. They were charged with indulgence in the wildest orgies: with fiddling, telling fortunes, playing cards, drunkenness, and, most often, dancing naked. But they held steadfastly to the doctrine that dancing was the highest expression of joy and thankfulness—"a figurative manifestation of the manner in which the true followers of Christ were to be called to worship God, and manifest their joy in the latter day, for their victory over the powers of darkness." Did not the children of Israel, in an earlier day, dance on all joyful occasions, especially when they had obtained a victory over their enemies? "Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King," the Psalmist had sung; "let them praise his name in the dance." Did not Miriam the prophetess celebrate the deliverance from Egyptian bondage with timbrels and with dances? The daughter of Jephthah too, and David, when the ark of God had been established in the holy city, did not they exult in the dance?

God created man, the Shakers argued, "an active intelligent being, possessing important powers and faculties, capable of serving himself according to his needs and circumstances; and he is required to devote these powers and faculties to the service of God." Less than that would be an imperfect service. Shall the tongue alone, they asked, be employed in the service and love and worship of God, while the other faculties are idle? "Since we are blessed with hands and feet, those active and useful members of the body on which we mostly depend, in our own service, shall we not acknowledge our obligations to God who gave them, by exercising them in our devotions to him?" Moreover, no one, they claimed can worship God for another. There is need for harmonious unity (according to the writers of the authoritative "Summary

View of the Millennial Church") "that each individual may participate in the united devotions of the whole body, and mutually contribute to the strength, and share in the harmony of all."

In content simple and direct, and seemingly artless in character, the dance songs of the Believers were true spirituals, tokens of the inspiration which uplifted and united this peculiar people. Not in the solemn discourses of the elders was the soul of the Shaker order best reflected, but in the various movements and "worded" marches of the common members themselves. Offering emotional release and a welcome escape from the routine of communal labor, these forms of worship revealed the joy that all experienced in the journey heavenward. In origin and use they were of the people, and as such exhibit an indigenous folk quality which illuminates the very ethos of the sect.

THE CREATION OF THE VIOLIN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES¹

By MAURICE EMMANUEL

THE STRING-INSTRUMENT MAKERS of Cremona and Brescia were not inventors only: by creating new resources whose perfection it seems impossible to surpass, they inspired the birth of a musical literature in which their violins are the heroes.

Beginning with the dawn of the XVIIth century, the Italian *Sonata*—ancestor of the more familiar Sonata form—, open to all styles and to every kind of instrument (flutes, oboes, bassoons, cornets, trumpets, trombones—viols, lutes, theorbos, harpsichords, etc.) admitted the violins, at first with discretion, and thereafter with a slowly but ever increasing hospitality. In the *dessus* of the ensemble they replaced the viols, which were retained provisionally for the lower parts. If it is true that the time during which the viols and violins remained neighbors in the orchestra was a fairly long one, the viola and violoncello were nevertheless destined to become conquering rivals. And we must admit that the ultimate banishment of all the viols (with the exception of the bass viol) was distinctly regrettable. Their family certainly deserved, because of its peculiar character, to remain in the service of the human voice, for which it offered the most suitable support.

All through the XVIIth century the violin became more and more firmly entrenched in the instrumental *musica da camera*, in other words in the Sonata. And the same composers who, like Picchi (Venice, 1625), wrote Sonatas *a quattro* for two cornets and two trombones, substituted one or two violins for cornets, in one or several of the successive movements. Salomone Rossi still hesitated among the cornets and viols in 1607, but wrote a Sonata for four violins and two *chitarroni* in 1622. Grandi, in 1628, published at Venice a Sonata *a cinque* for one violin and four trombones and a Sonata *a sei* for three violins and three trombones.

In the Sonata, as G. B. Buonamente gave it shape (1638), the violin ended up by rising above a cornet, an oboe, a *viola da braccio*, a

¹ Paper read before the Congress of Cremona, May, 1937.

bassoon, and a trumpet; and we were well on the way towards the instrumental combinations in which the violin became the protagonist. Thus, the Sonatas *a quattro* by Cazzati (Bologna, 1665) were already quartets for the violin family. In the Sonatas *a cinque*, by the same composer, there continues alive the remembrance of the striking sonorities of the early Sonata, with its rich brassy ring: a trumpet is added to the quartet.

In fact it was the trumpet that, among the brasses, held out longest against the oncoming tide of the triumphant violins: Domenico Gabrieli has left us sonatas for two trumpets, violin I, violin II, tenor viola, contrabass (and *continuo*); also for other combinations such as one trumpet, two violins, tenor viola, bass. Here is a combination of Bononcini's: two trumpets, two violins, two violas, one violoncello. Many similar examples could be mentioned. In his thesis on the XVIIth-century Italian Sonata for several instruments Arthur Schlossberg shows that the Sonatas of Poglietti, Legrenzi, and Guerrieri excluded all wind instruments in favor of the violin family. Only the flute is associated with the violin in the Sonatas of Alessandro Scarlatti. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century, the invaders are masters of the field.

An important fact: it was the violins that, in Italy as in France, introduced dance-movements into the Sonata. It is altogether arbitrary to see in the Suite of dances a *genre* different from that of the Sonata. By a "Sonata" between about 1575 and 1700 we must understand any instrumental piece as contrasted with a "Cantata," or vocal composition. If we judge by comparing the rôle the violin played in France during the same period, and the principal function assigned to it there, with what took place in Italy, it is certain that the dances were the instrument's almost exclusive domain. Father Mersenne, whose authority as a scholar is undisputed, states:

The viols are more suitable [than the violins] to accompany the voice, because they call for more serious pieces, in which the rhythm is more sustained and slow. The sounds of the violins are more vigorous and penetrating, by reason of the great tension of the strings and the high pitches. Those who have heard the XXIV "Violons du Roy" confess that they have never heard anything more ravishing or more powerful.

Now, under the direction of Lully, the XXIV Violins of the Chamber in fact played hardly anything except ballets and dance airs. Viols and lutes accompanied the voices and filled their rôle admirably. It was doubtless not the French who invented this distinction: ever since the

violins were introduced among them, these instruments served chiefly in the performance of dance music: their salient quality was placed at the service of rhythm.

In 1554, the Marshal de Brissac, by bringing the Milanese choreographer, Pompeo Diobono, to the French Court, introduced there also a large group of violinists who were conducted by Baldassaro da Belgioioso and who, besides, performed *gagliarde* and *corrente*, the *brandi*, the *balli* from which the French derived their ballets. Catherine de' Medici and her maids of honor danced to the strains of these violins.

When, in 1573, the Queen Mother received the Polish ambassadors at the Court of Charles IX, sixteen ladies and maidens of the retinue, "from among the most beautiful and best instructed," representing the sixteen provinces of France, "came and marched to a very pleasant martial air and danced a fantastically contrived ballet to the tune of thirty violins, the figures and airs of which ballet the Poles admired, saying that the French art of the dance was a thing that could not be imitated by any of the kings of the earth."

The same Baldassaro, who had changed his name to Balthazar de Beaujoyeux, in his famous *Ballet Comique de la Reine* (1581) which, in spite of its awkward puerilities, is the direct ancestor of French opera, required that the dances unfold themselves to the sound of the violins.

When Marie de' Medici—who was married to Henri IV at Florence on October 6, 1600, and on that day heard the *Euridice* of Rinuccini and Peri—had Rinuccini and the famous singer Caccini, creator of the *Nuove Musiche*, come to France, the latter sang at the French court, accompanying himself on the lute or supported by viols. But it was to the violins that one danced. The same contrast presented itself again in 1610, in the ballet of Monseigneur the Duke of Vendôme at the Louvre, in which work Gobbemagne, the Gonfalottier of the Isle of the Monkeys, enters upon the stage followed by three violinists "dressed like Turks, who dance while playing their instrument"; but Alcine and the nymphs sing to the accompaniment of lutes and viols.

A last telling example: in the ballet of the *Délivrance de Renaud* (1617) twenty-eight viols and fourteen lutes support the languishing airs of the singers, while the violins strike it up briskly to usher in merrily the magnificent dancers—princes of the Court and King Louis XIII himself, participating in the *Grand Ballet*.

The assigning of this special rôle to the violins was not an idea that originated with the French; indeed, the Corelli style of Sonata-

Dance Suite (consisting, for example, of a Prelude, Allemande, Sarabande, and Gigue) is the definitive type confirming the original partnership between dance tunes and the violin.

The French *airs-à-danser* played an important part in the formation of this Sonata-Suite. The French Court, beginning with the reign of Henri IV, but principally during the days of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, became the stage favored by the art of the dance. There the dance flourished, there it was regulated, there it was organized; the *canzone alla francese* of the Gabriellis and Frescobaldi and the many *ricercari francese* borrowed their themes, their rhythms, their structure, from the *chansons dansées* or from French instrumental dances. In the XVIIth century, it seems that all the dances of Europe had to receive the approval of the French Court. Even those of foreign origin had to pass muster at the Louvre, and returned home gallicized. Witness the French names frequently retained by the Italian masters, by Johann Sebastian Bach himself and his compatriots. Perhaps one will pardon France if she looks with some pride upon this share of hers in the formation of the Sonata and Symphony, in which the *Menuet* survived so long under its own name and, moreover, in the form to which it could be danced. And one should not forget that the opening Allegro—derived from the Allemande, a very old French dance—and the concluding Rondo are entirely French, and that the Sarabande, though born in Spain, came of age at Paris and Versailles. And it was the Italian violin-makers and their products that helped to spread these dance-forms through the world.

Lully's part in the establishment of the violins in France should not be forgotten. He collaborated with the great Cavalli and wrote the ballets of *Serse* (1660) and *Ercole amante* (1662); for these he used his band of small violins, created, about 1655, for the king's ballets, balls, and suppers, and wholly calculated to serve the dance scenes added to Cavalli's works.



Next to be considered is the influence the violin exercised upon the orchestra when it accompanied dramatic action. The almost exclusive application of the instrument to the dance was only the first stage of its career. How the strangely complex orchestra of Monteverdi was replaced, little by little, by a sort of concentration round the violin family—by an instrumental ensemble sometimes reduced, in fact, to this family

alone—is shown progressively by a study of the scores of Cavalli, Rossi, Landi, Caproli, Provenzale, Stradella, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Pergolesi. This concentration upon the violin may have been excessive, but is explicable in the light of the ever growing favor bestowed upon this marvellous instrument. Another factor was the progress of its technique, the domain of which had been enlarged by such men as Corelli, Torelli, Veracini, Vivaldi, and Tartini, in their Sonatas and Concertos, works inspired by the voice of the violin, more brilliant and expansive than that of the viols. It is through this development that one may grasp the rôle the great Italian instrument-makers played in the history of musical thought.

And it is not stretching things if we draw the following conclusion from the facts already stated: The creation of the violin, whose brightness and flexibility for a time made of it the instrument that led the dance, resulted in violinist-composers' giving their Sonatas the form of the Dance Suite. Thus the composers departed from polyphony, whether free or severely contrapuntal (that is, from *canzone* as well as from pieces in *fugato* style), the material out of which sonatas were made during the first two-thirds of the XVIIth century. Starting from about 1675, the Sonata-Dance Suite ruled supreme. From it, through evolution, sprang up eventually the Sonata of the German classics and consequently the Symphony, which is only an orchestral Sonata. Built, with the help of the violins, upon a framework of dances, the Sonata and Symphony have continued more or less to rest upon that structure.



France was the first to emulate Italy in the use of the violins, and this came about through Catherine de' Medici. At her call, Bracesco, Gallino, and Tetoni had, to the sound of these instruments, introduced *brandi* and *balletti* at the Court of Henri II; and in 1572, at the marriage of Henri of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois, a tournament-masque provided the occasion for them to sparkle at the Petit-Bourbon. These were the first results of those "musical politics" practised in France with remarkable continuity by the Medici queens and Cardinal Mazarin. Is it necessary to recall with what enthusiasm and, one might say, with what avidity Italian artists—painters, sculptors, architects, decorators, technicians—had been sought after by the French Court ever since the reign of François I? The death of Leonardo da Vinci at Amboise tes-

tified to the friendship between a prince of Italian art and a French king. With Marie de' Medici it was the poets, the Italian singers, who installed themselves at the Parisian Court; and the *Camerata* of Count Bardi, which played such an important part in the creation of the modern lyric drama, was represented there by Rinuccini and Caccini. The violin became the royal instrument. A violinist was attached to the person of Louis XIII. Upon the arrival of Louis XIV at Bordeaux after his marriage "the violins followed the king's boats." The group of XXIV Violins of the Chamber, which was created by Louis XIII and in which Lully served his apprenticeship, had a counterpart in the XXI "Petits Violons," which were organized by Lully for Louis XIV's use at his levees and at dinner, and which followed him on his travels. Mazarin, who had already had the *Orfeo* of Rossi played at the Palais Royal and the *Thetis* of Caproli at the Louvre, had the glorious Cavalli come from Venice for the celebration of the Peace of the Pyrenees and the king's marriage; and it was in the wonderful Théâtre des Machines, built by Amandini and organized by the director Vigarani, both from Modena, that *Ercole amante*, written for the occasion, unfolded its splendors.

The princes and princesses had their appointed violonists. When Henrietta of France departed for London, she took with her Bocan, a virtuoso praised by Mersenne.

The violin spread rapidly, and the French sought instruction among the Italian masters. Anet was a pupil of Corelli's. Guignon and Leclair were pupils of Somis, Rode of Viotti, Baillot of Pollani. Senaillé himself, whose remarkable Sonatas belong to the Corelli type, was a pupil of Italians in the band of the XXIV. If Gaviniès was called the French Tartini, it is because his technique and style were inspired by this great model.

The conquest of France by the violin of Cremona was an integral part of Italy's cultural invasion of her neighbor in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. The influence remained fertile only because it was not tyrannical: French and Italian art which, to their honor and advantage, have many reasons to fraternize, have also the duty of preserving enough independence to express, above the great groundwork of Latin thought, each in its own way, the shades of sentiment peculiar to each of the two countries.



Attention should be drawn to a fact that Mersenne was, with his customary precision, the first to analyze. Since the viols were tuned in fourths and thirds, that is, in an interval combination more difficult to establish than mere fifths, we may assume that the correctness of the tuning often left something to be desired. The players were very likely content with something approximate. In the XVIIth century the notion took hold that keyboard instruments—instruments, that is, with fixed pitches—demanded “temperament” through the contraction of the generating fifths. Mersenne indicated the way to establish it. But this solution was only slowly adopted; the example of J. S. Bach was needed to turn it into a requirement, long after the observations of Mersenne had been made. The latter, confronted by the violin tuned in fifths, recognized that, of all the intervals, the just fifth was the easiest to achieve. Now, this constituted not only the fixed tuning of the violin but also the standard of just tuning generally. This “just” framework included sounds which could, which indeed often had to, submit to equal temperament and thus become discordant—Mersenne measured the digression—with the open strings.

It follows that the violin is an instrument in which just pitches and approximate ones are pitted against one another, and that, through contact with the former, the latter take on their meaning in the domain of modulation. Harmonic modulations—limited on instruments tuned exclusively by just fifths, according to the Pythagorean formula—increased as soon as one “tempered.” The violin placed this fact in evidence, and by a sort of contradiction, since it grounded itself on pure intonation, it afforded an opportunity to verify the need for equal temperament practically, and not through mere mathematical considerations: there is not a violinist who, in the course of spinning out melodies, does not in the majority of instances most carefully avoid the use of open strings. It is thus that the violin was, by its very structure, a check and—apparent paradox—an aid to “temperament.”

This instrument which gave standing to the humble dance pieces in the great musical structures was, in addition, the chief mediator between the principles of temperament and pure intonation (rather a pure chimera!) without which no mingling of voices and instruments, in our Western art-music, could exist.

(Translated by G. R.)

FOLK-MUSIC OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

By RODNEY GALLOP

YUGOSLAVIA furnishes a perfect test case for a solution of the controversy whether folk-song is the natural, spontaneous expression of the character and even the language of a race or whether it reflects rather the historical and cultural influences by which that race has been affected. The Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes, who united after the war to form the Triune Kingdom, are all closely related members of one family—that of the Southern Slavs. There is no greater difference between the Serbian and Croatian idioms than between the English of America and of the United Kingdom, while Slovene resembles them as closely as, say, Provençal or Gascon resembles French. Nevertheless, in their eventful history of the last thousand years, widely varying influences have been brought to bear on the different branches of the race. The five hundred years of Turkish domination have brought the legacy of Byzantium and Islam into Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, while Dalmatia faces Italy across the Adriatic, and Slovenia and Croatia have absorbed the light from the West through the twin prisms of Austria and Hungary.

There remains, of course, an affinity of mood and spirit between all the music of the Southern Slavs, which testifies to their common origin. But, so far as outward form is concerned, the varying influences of the different civilizations with which they have been in contact have impregnated their music with widely differing characteristics.

Serbia was the Yugoslav Piedmont, just as Belgrade today is the capital and administrative center of the country. It is only right, therefore, that a study of Yugoslav music should begin with the Serbian. In the bare, rolling uplands south of Belgrade (for war against the Turks has robbed the Šumadija of much of the forest from which it derived its name), song has been for long an honored and carefully tended tradition. It was to a large extent the *narodne pesme* (national songs) which kept alive the fires of patriotism and the spirit of independence after the mediæval Serbian Empire had gone down before the Turks at the battle of Kosovo (1389). It often occurred to me,

during the years I spent at Belgrade, that if it was desired to sum up in one word the spirit of Serbia it should be in the Serbian word *junački*, which epitomizes the heroic attitude to life. The spirit of Serbian heroism is most aptly expressed in the epic poems, which were composed and sung to the people by wandering bards, often blind, who accompanied themselves on the *guzla*, a one-stringed instrument played with a bow.

Today there are few *guzlari* left, and these are seldom seen outside Montenegro and Herzegovina, but in their improvised ballads they have chronicled every important episode in Serbian history: the exploits of the national hero Kraljević Marko, the defeat at Kosovo, the guerilla warfare waged by the *hajduks* or outlaws, the resurgence of Serbia, the Balkan Wars, the Great War with the horrors of the retreat through Albania, and even so recent an event as the tragic assassination of King Alexander. All these ballads are half sung, half recited, to a monotonous chant on two or three notes. As an example of the *genre*, I will translate one of the most vigorous of the *narodne pesme*, that of Prince Marko and the Eagle:

Marko lies beside the imperial highway,
Hidden in the green undergrowth.
Over his cheek is spread a cloth,
His lance lies across his brow,
To the lance is tied Sharatz his steed.
On the lance alights a tawny eagle
And spreads its wings; cool shade falls over Marko.
In its beak it carries icy water
And drips it on the wounded hero.
Then speaks the *vila* fairy of the mountains:
"God be with you, tawny eagle,
What good deed did he to you,
Did to you Prince Marko,
That you spread your wings and make cool shade for him,
And in your beak you carry ice-cold water
And drip it on the wounded hero?"
Then speaks the tawny eagle:
"Sorrow, *vila*, all is toil and sorrow.
How should he not have done me good,
Prince Marko not done good to me?
Do you not know and remember
When the battle of Kosovo was lost
And two Emperors were slain,

Emperor Murat and Prince Lazar,
 When horses' blood was mingled with the earth
 And that of heroes stained their silken belts
 And horses and their riders swam in it,
 Horse close to horse, and hero close to hero?
 Then flew we eagles by on hungry wing,
 Hungry and thirsty flew we
 To eat our fill of human flesh
 And gorge ourselves on human blood
 So that my wings grew clogged and heavy.
 The sun shone from the clear sky,
 Yet were my wings borne down,
 And I could no more fly.
 All my companions winged their homeward way,
 And I remained upon the level plain,
 Trampled upon by horse and man.
 Then God brought Marko Kraljević;
 He lifted me from out the sea of blood
 And took me by his side on Sharatz.
 He carried me into the woods so green
 And set me on a birch's branch.
 From Heaven came a gentle shower of rain
 And washed my clogged and crumpled wings
 So I could fly once more,
 Fly up into the wooded mountains
 And join the flight of my companions.
 One good deed more did to me Prince Marko.
 Do you not know and remember
 When the town burned at Kosovo
 And blazed the towers of Agadjina?
 There were my little ones, my eaglets,
 There Marko Kraljević lifted them up
 And gathered them into his silk-clad breast
 And took them back to his white palaces
 And nourished them a month of days,
 A month of days and yet a whole week more,
 Then sent them flying out into the wooded hills,
 And there my eaglets met with me once more.
 Those are the deeds Prince Marko did to me."

Wherefore Prince Marko is spoken of by men
 As of a golden day in the whole year.

To the *narodne pesme*, essentially men's songs, correspond what
 are popularly known as *ženske pesme*, literally "women's songs," sung

to lyrical as opposed to dramatic poems, such as the following exquisite little fragment from Dalmatia:

Green grows the clover	Clad in a shining robe
Where the peacocks feed	Which is neither spun nor woven
With their little ones.	But cast in purest gold.
A maiden tends them,	

The *ženske pesme* are frequently, though by no means invariably, dance songs, and it is to their singing that, when there is no instrumentalist present, are danced the lively measures of the *kolo*, the Yugoslav chain-dance. It is curious how widely diffused through Europe, from Russia to Portugal, is the tradition that it is women's voices that are best suited to substitute for instruments in accompanying the dance.

The *kolo* (literally, "wheel") is, as its name betokens, a near relative of the Bulgarian *horo*, Roumanian *hora*, and Greek *choros*, all of them links in the European chain-dance which extends in space from Crete to the Faeroe Islands and in time from the Minoan Labyrinth to the present day. It is a national dance in the fullest sense of the word, for it is the recreation of everyone from king to peasant. With it is linked one of my most unforgettable memories of Belgrade. It was some years ago, the evening of the Court Ball at the Old Palace in King Milan Street. In the vast white and gilt ballroom the guests awaited King Alexander and Queen Marie. Later that very room was to be transformed into a *chapelle ardente* for the murdered King. But no shadow of approaching tragedy hung over the throng of beautiful women and men in handsome uniforms. The band struck up the "King's Kolo," the doors were flung open, and the royal pair appeared, not striding in majesty, but leading a long, winding chain of diplomats and court officials in the simple steps of the chain-dance.

There are innumerable different kolos, some grave and others lively, some in $\frac{2}{4}$ some in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, some done with small, quick, intricate steps and your arms round your neighbors' shoulders, others done with linked hands in great sideward leaps, the circle now narrowing and now dramatically opening to its fullest extent to the cry of "*Otvori!*" Some are named after towns or districts, others after trades or professions. In all, one has the feeling that the people are dancing not merely for amusement or recreation, not merely for self-expression and the partic-

ular sense of intoxication and ecstasy which the dance induces, but that they are sharing in a communal rite, in which each abdicates his individual identity in the miniature community of the dance-circle.

Sometimes the music is furnished by a rustic sheepskin bagpipe, more frequently by wandering gypsy bands consisting of fiddles and of a double-bass held upright by a standing player and plucked so that its dull, rhythmic *zoomp-zoomp* heard over the brow of a hill is generally the first indication that the Tziganes are in the neighborhood. Many of the kolo tunes have no words, such for instance as the *Arapsko Kokonješte*, one of the best if not one of the most characteristic:

Ex. 1



It is the tonality of this melody, definitely in the key of G minor (apart from the Oriental augmented second) and based on a scale system founded on the octave, which distinguishes it from the majority of Serbian melodies, whether choreographic or not. Far more characteristic, if less striking, is the theme of another kolo, the *Vlahinja Nova*:

Ex. 2



Before making this tune the occasion of some remarks on the tonality of Serbian folk-music, it would be preferable to give three further examples, all songs pure and simple with no choreographic implications:

Ex. 3

Lento rubato

Green is the leaf and white the flower,
 Loved me my lover but one short hour,
 Loved me my lover but a single day
 And when my flowers were faded he threw them away.

Ex. 4

Andante

Ex. 5

Moderato

It will be noticed that Ex. 3 is, with the exception of one unimportant note, contained within the compass of a fifth, and ends—as it were, in the air—on what appears to be the second note of a major scale. Ex. 4 has this same compass extended to a seventh, and that seventh is flattened in a manner which suggests, though as we shall see misleadingly, the Mixolydian mode. Ex. 5, if we defer consideration of the accidentals in measures 7 and 16, has the same compass extended downwards and an ending, likewise in the air, on what would appear to be the sixth note of the scale. This tonality, which is characteristic of the

great majority of Serbian songs, is at first sight rather puzzling, and a number of musicians including the Serb, Kosta Manojlović, have attempted to explain it modally. To anyone who knows the songs at first-hand, however, such an explanation is quite unconvincing, and any modal harmonization seems to destroy rather than to underline their harmonic implications. My own view, which to the best of my knowledge has been nowhere else stated, is that this music is founded not on scales based on the octave, but on a series of overlapping groups of five notes, corresponding to the first five notes of the octave, the groups being separated from one another by a fourth. Each melodic phrase is generally set within the compass of one of these groups and ends with the second note of it. Of this arrangement Ex. 2 is the clearest and simplest of illustrations. Ex. 4, based on the form *a a b a*, similarly shows phrase *a* built out of a five-note tonal group based on F and ending on G, and phrase *b* built out of an exactly similar five-note group a fourth higher. In Ex. 5, on the other hand, the tune, after beginning in a five-note group based on G, shifts to another a fourth lower. Thus the compass can be indefinitely extended upwards or downwards in these overlapping five-note groups:

Ex. 6



The accidentals in Ex. 5 may be accounted for by the fact that the five-note group may bear an affinity to the major or minor scales, or to the Oriental scale with the interval of an augmented second between the third and fourth degrees of the scale, the changes on these forms being frequently rung in one and the same song.

To my mind the most satisfactory way of establishing the harmonic implications of these songs is to treat each phrase as though it were in its apparent key and at its close to modulate into the key of the dominant, of which the final note of the phrase is itself the dominant. This indeed is the harmonization which the gypsies themselves instinctively employ, and habit soon accustoms the ear to this mannerism, removing the "up in the air" impression and conveying the feeling of a natural

full-close, of which this may be called the Serbian equivalent. Thus the final phrase of Ex. 4 might be harmonized as follows:

Ex. 7



In many tunes, of course, the five-note groups are not so clearly separated as in the examples quoted above. But, even when they are fused in a single melodic phrase, the shift of tonal center is always implicit and, as at the end of the following example, underlies the structural form of the phrase:

Ex. 8

Moderato

A four-line musical score in treble clef, key of D major (two sharps), and 2/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Moderato'. The melody is written on a single staff with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are in Serbian. The music features a mix of eighth and quarter notes, with some phrases marked with a '3' indicating a triplet. The final phrase shows a shift in tonal center.

Da l'ne-mam dja-num da l'ne - mam Ru-se — ko-se maj - ko le de
 Tvoj ti je sin ti je čif - te-li čap-k'n al' da ga naj-de zlo da ga naj-de
 što beh a ne naj - do — ja Po me-ha - ne pi - je —
 po ma-ha - la spi - je — ni - kad do - ma ni - je maj - ko - le

Many of these songs breathe a spirit of deep yearning and wild despair which epitomizes the history of the Serbian people. Sung in a free, rhapsodic style which often defies notation, but which the Tzigane musicians are extraordinarily adept at following, they are profoundly moving and are immensely popular not only with the peasantry but with all sections of Serbian society. The latter are fortunate in that their musical tradition admits little or no distinction between "folk" and

"popular" music. With few exceptions, the songs that become popular hits at Belgrade are not the ephemeral ditties of some sophisticated composer, but true folk-songs picked up by the gypsies in their wanderings and popularized in the capital. To this class belong many of the popular successes of the last ten years, such as *Imam jednju Želju*, *Sve se Kunem*, and *Milo je meni i drago*.

There is no denying the part which song plays in the lives of these people. In Belgrade and in the provincial towns there exist *pevačka društva*, or choral societies, formed of young people linked not by social ties or athletic prowess but by a common feeling for the music of their race. When I lived in Belgrade I was an honorary member of the Pevačko Društvo Stanković. Many an unforgettable night did we spend together till the late hours, going the round of the *kašanas* where the best Tziganes were to be found, drinking the heavy Bermet wine or the white Žilavka from Herzegovina, listening to the exquisite tenor voice of one-armed Bata Cvijetić, and joining in unison or improvised harmony in these deeply stirring songs. Those were nights of true Serbian comradeship and hospitality which I shall never forget and for which I shall feel eternally grateful.



North of the Sava and West of the Danube, in the spacious plains of Croatia and the Alpine crags of Slovenia, song plays the same social and racial rôle in the lives of the people. Zagreb, Ljubljana, and many a smaller town, have their choral societies, but their songs are closer to the main current of European music and seldom achieve the individuality and intensity of the Serbian. They incline far more frequently to the major and minor keys and are often scarcely distinguishable from popular Austrian, Italian, and Hungarian melodies.

Controversy, with which the names of Dr. Kuhač and Sir Henry Hadow are particularly associated, has raged round the part played by Croatian folk-song in Haydn's works. In the discussion following a paper recently read at a meeting of the Musical Association in London, Professor E. J. Dent made an interesting suggestion to the effect that these Croatian folk-tunes were in fact adaptations of Italian comic-opera airs of the XVIIIth century, which the Croatian people assimilated and Haydn borrowed from them. "One can very well believe," he said, "that the musical comedy tunes of Italy at that period travelled

across the Adriatic and became adopted by peasants in Croatia as folk-tunes. This is quite likely because one has only to look at any collection of Croatian or Dalmatian folk-tunes to recognize at once tunes which have come out of popular comic operas.¹ If these Italian influences are unmistakable, so also are the Hungarian. *Moja mati čelim tka*, for instance, has all the mannerisms of a Hungarian popular air, including the syncopated "snap" of the *czárdas* and the repetition of the first phrase a fifth higher:

Ex. 9

Lento rubato

Mo-ja maj-ka či-lim tka Gra-na od bo-ra Ho-će me-ne,
da u-da Gra-na od bo-ra Ne-moj ma-ti či-lim tka-ti
Ja se ne-ću još u-da-ti Gra-na od bo-ra pa-la kraj mo-ra

This is not to suggest that the Croats do not possess very beautiful and individual melodies, but they are the exception rather than the rule. Two of them from the Medjimurje district are to be found in Petar Konjević's collection *Moja Zemlja*, which contains many fine tunes, mostly ruined by unsuitable and over-elaborate accompaniments:

Ex. 10

Andante

Vo-da zvi-ra iz ka-me-na le-pa pla-vo-na
Ras-te ru-ža iz ko-re-na le-pa ru-me-na
Vo-da zvi-ra iz ka-me-na hla-dna mer-zle-na
Ras-te ru-ža iz ko-re-na le-pa čer-le-na

¹ *Proceedings of the Musical Association, Sixty-First Session, 1934-1935* (Leeds, 1935), p. 17.

Ex. 11

Andantino

Me - gla se ka - di haj - di - na e - ve - te Kdo bu tu haj - di - nu
žel ka - da na njoj zr - nja ne Mla - da A - ga že - la bo
ko - ja več de - voj - ka ne mla - da A - ga že - la bo ko - ja več de voj - ka ne

In Slovenia the Germanic influence is paramount, being manifested not only in the harmonized singing in thirds and sixths, but in the melodies which are harmonic rather than monophonic in character. Of these one of the most popular and characteristic is *Ljubca povej, povej*:

Ex. 12

Andantino

Ljup - ca po - vej po - vej Al' me ne lju - biš kej? Al' me ne lju - biš kej? De - kle po - vej

Nevertheless, a more individual, more monophonic and more truly Slav style is exhibited by the Slovenes of Istria, as exemplified by a song from Konjević's collection:

Ex. 13

Lento

Star me je pro - si - ja nis' ga sti - la ze - ti nis' ga sti - la ze -
ti traj - na ni - na ne - na traj - na ni - ne - na

Musically, Dalmatia approximates to Croatia, with a very noticeable Italian influence, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which remained part of the Ottoman Empire till 1878, to Macedonia, emancipated from Moslem rule only in 1912-13, which I have left to the last precisely because it is musically the richest and most interesting part of the country. The very name Macedonia has become synonymous with an inextricable medley of races, each of which in its turn has profoundly influenced the history

of the region. This mixture is reflected in the great variety of its folk-music.

Although the Serbian type of melody based on overlapping five-note groups is found throughout the Vardar Banovina (as Serbian Macedonia is now officially called), it is much rarer than in Old Serbia, and the Oriental influence is correspondingly more noticeable in a profusion of augmented seconds. On the other hand, the use of scales based on the octave conduces to a more melodious character than is to be found, according to Western ways of thinking, in the Middle East. *Sevdi Sendum* is a happy example of this musical no-man's-land where East meets West:

Ex. 14

Lento

Moj dil - be - re — kud se še — — — — — čes Ej što i —
me - ne — ne po - ve — — — — — deš — Sev - di sen - dum bir — — — — — e - fen - dum
a — — — — — man a — — — — — man ja - ra — — — — — ba

With or without the aid of Oriental mannerisms, Macedonian songs often attain a remarkable intensity of expression. Stark tragedy lies behind every word and every note of *Do tri mi puški* from Ochrida:

Ex. 15

Lento rubato

Do — tri mi pu — ški pu - kna - le
Do — tri ju - na - ci le - le tu - go pa - dna - le
Do — tri mi - maj - ke le - le tu - go pla - ka - le

Three rifle shots rang out,
Three heroes fell, alas,
Three mothers wept.

And nothing could sum up with greater conciseness the life of the outlaw in the mountains than *Tri Godini* from the eastern bank of the River Vardar:

Ex. 16

Lento rubato

Tri go - di - ni — vtam-ni - ca —

Tri go - di - ni vtam-ni - ca — Če-ti -

ri — vgo - rah Do - de-je mi ni-vo - ta Če-ti - ta

Three years in prison
And four in the mountains,
Weary am I of life.

Neither father nor mother have I,
Nor brother nor sister,
Weary am I of life.

The Macedonian songs quoted above are rhythmically straightforward, but there are others in compound rhythms such as would never be found in Old Serbia and which recall that the frontiers of Greece (with the $\frac{7}{8}$ time of the *Kalamatianos* and the complex rhythmic structure of *Gheorghitsa*²) are not far away. Good examples are the spirited *Kambana bije nane* and *Pevnulo Jane v Škoplje*:

Ex. 17

Vivace

Kam - ba - na bi-je na - ne kam - ba - na bi-je na - ne kam - ba - na

bi - je na - ne kam - ba - na bi - je Za ko - ga bi - je na - ne

za ko - ga bi - je za ko - ga bi - je na - ne za ko - ga bi - je?

² See Rodney Gallop, "Folk-Songs of Modern Greece," in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (January, 1935), pp. 89-98.

Ex. 18

Moderato

Fev-nu-lo Ja-ne v Sko-plje Ču-lo se v Ve-les A
a ja ja i ja ja ma-ša-la Kol'ka si gr-la i-ma-la

Jane sang in Skoplje
And it was heard in Veles

Ah, ha, ha [here follows a phrase in Turkish which has eluded me],

What a throat you had!

Jane looked in Skoplje

The glance was seen in Veles

Ah, ha, ha, etc.

What eyes you had!

These are authentic compound rhythms, strongly emphasized in performance, such as could not be rendered without changes of time-signature. Kosta Manojlović in his paper on "Musical Characteristics of our South"³ produces some startling effects by changing the time-signature in every measure of songs he collected in the Vardar Banovina. Sometimes his indications read like a mathematical formula, thus:

$$\frac{3}{8} + \frac{9}{16} (\frac{4}{16} + \frac{5}{16}) + \frac{3}{8} + \frac{9}{16} (\frac{5}{16} + \frac{4}{16}) + \frac{3}{8} + \frac{7}{16} (\frac{4}{16} + \frac{3}{16}) + \frac{9}{16}.$$

If he did not enjoy a well-founded reputation as a conscientious scholar, he might be suspected of an attempt to pull the leg of the musical world. In point of fact, however, I am convinced that he has been at infinite pains to take down exactly what he heard, and in a sense he was only restoring the balance of the XIXth century when collectors such as Stefan Mokranjac were scarcely scrupulous enough. If he has made a mistake, it has been that of attempting the impossible, that is to say to imprison within a measured beat the indefinable lilt of a "mouth tune" or the soaring flight of a free, rhapsodic style of singing which is quite refractory to it. The result is that purely arbitrary values must necessarily be assigned, for instance, to *fioriture* or to sustained notes where grace-notes or a pause would be sufficient indication. It is only where the rhythm is strongly emphasized that these

³ Kosta P. Manojlović, *Muzičke Karakteristike Našega Juga*. Pretiskano iz "Sv. Cecilije," Zagreb, Tisak Nadbišupske Tisare, 1925.

changes of time-signature really serve their purpose, as in his effective *Marika na stol sedeše* from *Djevdjeli* and *Dafino vino hej* from *Veles*:

Ex. 19

Allegro

Ma-ri-ka na stol se-de-še Of a-man Ma-ri-ka na stol se-de-še

lju-bov-no pi-smo-če-te-še Of a-man lju-bov-no pi-smo če-te-še

Ex. 20

Allegro moderato

Da-fi-no vi-no hej! cr-ve-no vi-no hej!

Mom-četo ti je za-spa-lo mom-četo ti je za spa-lo

In conclusion I will quote two Macedonian songs which, without in the least suggesting Western influences, and with a characteristic freedom of rhythm, contain nothing exotic either of rhythm or tonality, and are grateful to even the unacclimatized Western ear:

Ex. 21

Lento rubato

Sa-di-la mo To be-lo groj -

ze Oj Loj - ze Loj - ze Sas be-lo groj - ze

Ex. 22

Lento rubato

Ka-da-se že - naš Me-ne dame ze - maš BelaMari - ke

Allegretto

Ka-ran-fil-če-to tren-da-fil-če-to Kit-ka be-re-na Namdo-ne-se - na

When you marry
Take none but me
My lily-white Marika.

Little carnation
Little rose
My chosen adornment
And precious gift.

I will buy you
A silver *fustan* [bolero]
Little mother's chicken.

Little carnation, *etc.*

If you do not take me
Then may the Lord take me
My lily-white Marika.

Little carnation, *etc.*



QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

ENGLISH

ALBRECHT, OTTO EDWIN

18th century music in the University Library. (Reprinted from the University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle, March, 1937). 12 p, 8°. Philadelphia: The Author, 1937.

AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Bulletin No. 2, June, 1937. M. D. Herter Norton, editor. 32 p, 8°. New York: The Editor, 1937.

ANNESLEY, CHARLES

Home book of the opera, including The Standard Opera Glass. Detailed plots of the celebrated operas, with critical and biographical remarks and dates. With an introduction by Olin Downes. 717 p, 8°. New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1937.

L'ART ET INSTRUCTION DE BIEN DANCER

(MICHEL TOULOUZE, PARIS). A facsimile of the only recorded copy with a bibliographical note by Victor Scholderer. 32 p, 8°. London: Printed for the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1936.

BAGGALLY, JOHN WORTLEY

The Klephtic ballads in relation to Greek history (1715-1821). xiv, 109 p, 8°. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1936.

BAIRSTOW, EDWARD C.

Counterpoint and harmony. 399 p, 8°. London: Macmillan & Co., 1937.

BAUER, ROBERT

Historical records. London: J. Barnett.

BAX, CLIFFORD

Ideas and people. 296 p, 8°. London: L. Dickson, Ltd., 1936. [Includes essay on Gustav Holst.]

BEAUMONT, CYRIL WILLIAM

Enrico Cecchetti. A memoir. 47 p, 8°. London: C. W. Beaumont, 1929.

BEYER, HERMANN

Mexican bone rattles. 21 p, 8°. New Orleans: Department of Middle American Research, Tulane University, 1934.

BISSELL, LILLIAN L.

Music in cultural education. 111 p, 8°. Hartford: Press of Finlay Brothers, 1934 (i.e. 1937).

BLACKWOOD, BEATRICE

Both sides of Buka passage; an ethnographic study of social, sexual, and economic questions in the north-western Solomon Islands. xxiii, 624 p, 8°. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935. [Extensive material on musical instruments and the dance.]

BOTKIN, BENJAMIN ALBERT

The American play-party song, with a collection of Oklahoma texts and tunes. (The University Studies of the University of Nebraska, vol. 37). 400 p, 8°. Lincoln, Neb.: Published by the University, 1937.

BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN

Negro builders and heroes. xi, 315 p, 8°. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. [Chapter on "Music and art."]

BULL, PERCY A.

Stray notes, musical and otherwise. Cheam, Surrey: Cryer's Library.

COMPER, FRANCES M. M., editor

Spiritual songs from English MSS. of fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. With a preface by Herbert J. C. Grierson. xxii, 293 p, 12°. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936.

DELAPLAINE, EDWARD S.

Francis Scott Key. Life and times. xiv, 506 p, 8°. Brooklyn: Biography Press, 1937.

DOLMETSCH, ARNOLD

Translations from the Penllyn manuscript of ancient harp music. Volume I. 19 p, 4°. Glynteg, Llangeffni: The Early Welsh Music Society, 1937. [And three phonograph records.]

DOUGLAS, WINFRED

Church music in history and practice; studies in the praise of God. xvi, 311 p, 8°. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

DRYDEN, JOHN

Hymns attributed to John Dryden. Edited with an introduction and notes by George Rapall Noyes and George Reuben Potter. ix, 221 p, 8°. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1937.

EKMAN, KARL

Jean Sibelius. Translated by Edward Birse, with a foreword by Ernest Newman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. [American ed.]

ELLIOT, JOHN HAROLD

A first glimpse of great music. Being a few suggestions and generalizations compiled for the use of the "plain man." 128 p, 12°. Philadelphia: D. McKay Co., 1931.

EWEN, DAVID

Twentieth century composers. x, 309 p, 8°. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1937.

GARDNER, EMELYN ELIZABETH

Folklore from the Schoharie hills, New York. xv, 351 p, 8°. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1937.

GILLIS, ADOLPH AND ROLAND KETCHUM

Our America; a survey of contemporary America as exemplified in the lives and achievements of twenty-four men and women drawn from representative fields. xxviii, 427 p, 8°. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1936. [Includes Deems Taylor.]

GILMAN, LAWRENCE

Stories of symphonic music; a guide to the meaning of important symphonies, overtures, and tone-poems from Beethoven to Debussy. xvii, 359 p, 8°. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1937.

HARDY, T. MASKELL

Practical suggestions for the teaching of vocal music in schools. Part 1: The infants' school. 114 p. London: Curwen.

HAYES, GERALD

King's music. An anthology. With an essay by Walford Davies. 88 p. London: Oxford University Press.

HEYLBUT, ROSE AND AIMÉ GERBER

Backstage at the opera. ix, 325 p, 8°. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1937.

HIPKINS, EDITH J.

How Chopin played. From contemporary impressions collected from the diaries and note-books of the late A. J. Hipkins. 39 p, 8°. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.

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Science and music. London: Cambridge University Press.

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Sound; a text book. xii, 450 p, 8°. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1937. [Musical scales: p. 56-76; Musical Instruments: p. 280-353; Speech and song: p. 354-370.]

KINSKY, GEORG

A history of music in pictures. With an introduction by Eric Blom. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.

KRAUSS, PAUL GERHARDT

The Loblied; a study of the German secular song of praise, 1450-1650. (Abstract of diss., University of Illinois.) 14 p, 8°. Urbana, Ill.: The University, 1936.

LAPHAM, CLAUDE

Scoring for the modern dance band. New York: Pitman Publishing Corp.

LEWIS, PETER

A fox-hunter's anthology. xv, 383 p, 8°. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935. [Includes music.]

MACCARTHY, MRS. MARY WARRE CORNISH

Handicaps; six studies. 225 p, 12°. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936. [Includes Beethoven.]

MCCOLVIN, LIONEL ROY

Music libraries: the organisation and contents. 2 vol. London: Grafton, 1937.

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Songs of the old camp ground; genuine religious folk songs of the Tennessee hill country. 85 p, 8°. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937. [With extensive notes.]

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A survey and evaluation of the education of school music teachers in the United States. viii, 183 p, 8°. New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, 1937.

MACINTYRE, ROBERT, editor

Ballads ancient and modern, with a few of the traditional airs. xii, 258 p, 16°. London, New York: T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1935.

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Modern music and musicians. London: Novello & Co., Ltd.

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A history of theatrical art in ancient and modern times. With an introduction by William Archer. 6 vol. New York: Peter Smith.

MARKS, HARVEY B.

The rise and growth of English hymnody. Foreword by James DeW. Perry, introduction by H. Augustine Smith. 288 p, 8°. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1937.

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On colouring, as distinct from tone-inflection. A lecture. London: Oxford University Press.

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Practical introduction to orchestration and instrumentation. iv, 52 p, 8°. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937.

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Sound waves, their shape and speed; a description of the phonodeik and its applications and a report on a series of investigations made at Sandy Hook proving ground. xi, 164 p, 8°. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937.

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Wagner as man and artist. xv, 399 p, 8°. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1937.

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Folk-lore of the Antilles, French and English. Part II. (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, vol. XXVI, part II, 1936.) xii, 596 p, 8°. New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1936.

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32 p, 4°. New York: The Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York, 1937.

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Graded tests in practical musicianship and musical initiative. In 3 books. 3 vol, 8°. London: J. Williams, Ltd., 1937.

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An Aristotelian analysis of the elements, principles and causes of the art of music. (Diss., Columbia University.) 77 p, 8°. Chicago: The Author, 1936.

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Development of Soviet music. (Research Bulletin on the Soviet Union, April 30, 1937.) 6 p, 4°. New York: The American Russian Institute, 1937.

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The book of Newfoundland. 2 vol, 4°. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, Ltd., 1937. [Includes folk music.]

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Recently-discovered Handel manuscripts. Reprinted from the Musical Times, April, 1937. 4 p, 8°. London: The First Edition Bookshop, Ltd., 1937.

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Examples of Gregorian chant and works by Orlandus Lassus and Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina for use in classes of counterpoint. (Eastman School of Music Publications, no. 4.) 171 p, 4°. Rochester, N. Y.: The Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester, 1937.

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Reproducing early editions of eight famous songs. 4°. St. Louis: Art Publication Society, 1937.

THE STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER MEMORIAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH; a tribute to the composer whose melodies have become the heart songs of the American people. Dedicated June 2, 1937. 16 p, 8°. Pittsburgh: Stephen Foster Dedication Committee, 1937.

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EDGAR NATHANIEL JOHNSON

An introduction to medieval Europe, 300-1500. xii, 1092 p, 8°. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937. [Chapter on "Literature, Art, and Music."]

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A guide to aesthetics. vii, 343 p, 8°. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1937. [Chapter on "Music and Decoration."]

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Buffets and rewards; a musician's reminiscences. English translation by Marguerite Wolff. 383 p, 8°. London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1937. [Previously announced as "An Autobiography."]

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Modern phonetization applied to singing. Adrian, Mich.: Modern Phonetization.

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ZANZIG, AUGUSTUS D.

Starting and developing a rhythm band. 24 p, 12°. New York: National Recreation Association, 1937.

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TIJDSCHRIFT DER VEREENIGING VOOR NEDERL. MUZIEKGESCHIEDENIS. Deel XV, 2° stuk. p. 65-128, 8°. Amsterdam: G. Alsbach & Co., 1937.

VERSLAG OVER DE WERKZAAMHEDEN EN DEN TOESTAND VAN 1933-1934 TOT 1935-1936, VAN HET KONINKLIJK VLAAMSCH MUZIEK-CONSERVATORIUM, ANTWERPEN. 45 p, 8°. Antwerpen: Drukk "Anvers-Bourse", 1936.

DANISH

SYSBERG, BIRGER

Kvartetten, som spraengtes. Paa Dansk ved Peder Hesselaa. 472 p, 8°. København: Jespersen & Pio.

NORWEGIAN

BAND, RAGNHILD MAGNUS

Om rytme og dens forhold til gymnastikkundervisning. 233 p, 4°. Oslo: A/S Norsk Notestik & Forlag, 1935.

SWEDISH

GABRIELSSON, SAMUEL

Svenska psalmbokens förnyelse. Några rättframma tankar och oförgripiga bidrag framställda till övervägande vid allm. prästmötet i Västerås 1937. 232 p, 8°. Stockholm: Diakonistyr.

LINDSTRÖM, MARTIN

Philipp Nicolais kristendomstolkning. 331 p, 8°. Stockholm: Diakonistyr.

NORDBERGER, CARL

Intermezzo; närbilder av stjärnor från scen och estrad. 240 p, 8°. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1936.

POLISH

KAROL SZYMANOWSKI. Monografia zbiorowa pod redakcją Mateusza Glińskiego. Specjalny numer miesięcznika "Muzyka." 71 p, 8°. Warszawa: "Muzyka," 1937.

RUSSIAN

BORODIN, ALEKSANDR PORFIR'EVICH

Pis'ma A. P. Borodina. Vstupitel'naia stat'ia

G. Khubova, redaksiia, kommentarii i primechaniia S. Dianina. Vypusk II (1872-1877). 315 p, 8°. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Muzykal'noe Izdatel'stvo, 1936.

RIMSKII-KORSAKOV, A. N.

N. A. Rimskii-Korsakov. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo. Vypusk III. 104 p, 8°. Moskva: Muzgiz, 1936.

TURKISH

MERKEL, JOHANNES

Armoni. Musiki muallim mektebi için. Nakili: Cevat Memduh. 113 p, 12°. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaasi, 1929.

ZEKI

Çocuklara ve gençlere, teganni dersleri. xl, 94 p, 8°. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaasi, 1929.



QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST



PREPARED BY PHILIP MILLER

ALFVEN, HUGO

Jag langtar dig; Skögen sofver (Op. 28). Helen Snow, S; André Skalski, pf. Reverse: *Der Wanderer*, Op. 4, no. 1 (Schubert). Joseph Posner, bar; André Skalski, pf. Iragan 2R-29-06.

BACH, J. S. (See also *Haydn*)

Chorale preludes: Das alte Jahr vergangen ist; Christ lag in Todesbanden. Edouard Commette, o. Columbia 293M.

Concerto, violin, no. 1, A minor. Yehudi Menuhin, vln; Paris Sym. Orch. con. Georges Enesco. Victor 14370-1.

Die Kunst der Fuge. Prof. Hermann Diener and members of his college of music. German Gramophone EH 1007-16.

Mass in B minor: Benedictus. Georges Thill, t; Henry Merckel, vln; orch. Columbia 4162M.

Partita, clavier, no. 6, E minor. Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Gamut set 2.

Prelude and Fugue in F minor (orch. Lucien Cailliet). Philadelphia Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 14382.

Suite, clavier, French, no. 6, E major. Wanda Landowska, hpschd. Victor 14384.

Suite, violin and clavier, A major; Fugue, G minor. Stefan Frenkel, vln; Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Musicraft set 3.

BANCHIERI, ADRIANO

Saviezza Giovane: Nu semmo tri dutter: Tutti venite armati (Gastoldi). Reverse: *Fire, fire, my heart* (Morley). The Harvard Glee Club. con. G. Wallace Woodworth. Victor 4334.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN

Quartet, strings, Op. 18, no. 5, A major. Lener String Quartet. Columbia set 301.

Septet, Op. 20, E-flat. A. Catterall, vln; B. Shore, vln; G. Gauntlett, vlc; E. Cruft, bass; F. Thurston, clar; A. Camden, bsn; A. Thonger, hrn. English Gramophone DB 3026-30.

Sonata, piano, Op. 27, no. 2, C-sharp minor (Moonlight). Ignace Jan Paderewski, pf. Victor M-349.

Sonata, piano, Op. 27, no. 2, C-sharp minor (Moonlight). Reverse: *Étude de concert, no. 3, D-flat major* (Liszt). Egon Petri, pf. Columbia X-77.

Sonata, piano, Op. 111, C minor. Wilhelm Kempff, pf. English Decca X 177-9.

Sonata, violoncello and piano, Op. 102, no. 1, C major. Pablo Casals, vlc; Mieczyslaw Horszowski, pf. Victor 14366-7.

Symphony no. 2, D major, Op. 36. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set 302.

Trio, Op. 1, no. 3, C minor; Trio, posthumous, B-flat major (in one movement). American Art Trio. Musicraft set 2.

BERLIOZ, HECTOR

Le Carnaval romain, Overture, Op. 9. Sym. orch. con Eugène Bigot. French Gramophone DB 5037.

Les Francs-Juges, Overture, Op. 3. Reverse: *Eugen Onegin: Polonaise* (Tchaikovsky). British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DB 3131-2.

BISHOP, SIR HENRY ROWLEY (See *Haydn*)

BOCCHERINI, LUIGI

Sonata, violoncello, no. 6, A major: Andante; Allegro. R. Caruana, vlc; M. Maffezzoli, pf. Italian Gramophone GW 1418.

BOLEYN, ANN

O Death, rocke me asleepe. Reverse: *L'Été* (Chaminade). Blanche Marchesi, s; Robert Ainsworth, pf. International Record Collector's Club 97.

BORODIN, ALEXANDER

Prince Igor: Introduction; Dance of the young girls; Dance of the men; Chorus of the young Polovtsi girls; General dance. Les Chœurs de l'Opéra Russe. con. Slaviansky d'Agrenoff. English Parlophone E 11326-7.

BRAHMS, JOHANNES (See also *Schubert*)

Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer, Op. 105, no. 2; Wiegenlied, Op. 49, no. 4. Elisabeth Schumann, s; orch. English Gramophone DA 1562.

- Quartet, piano and strings, Op. 26, A major.* Rudolf Serkin, pf; Adolf Busch, vln; Karl Doktor, vla; Hermann Busch, vlc. Victor M-346.
- Sextet, strings, Op. 36, G major.* Budapest String Quartet; Alfred Hobday, vla; Anthony Pini, vlc. English Gramophone DB 3139-42.
- Sonata, clarinet and piano, Op. 120, no. 2, E-flat major.* Frederick Thurston, clar; Myers Foggin, pf. English Decca-Polydor X 171-3.
- BRANT, HENRY**
Lyric Cycle (8 songs). Helen Van Loon, s; 3 vlas; pf. New Music Quarterly 1311.
- BRUCH, MAX**
Kol Nidrei, Op. 47. Reverse: *Minuet* (Haydn-Piatti). Pablo Casals, vlc; London Sym. Orch. con. Sir Landon Ronald. English Gramophone DB 3063-4.
- BUSONI, FERRUCCIO**
Indianisches Tagebuch. Egon Petri, pf. English Columbia LX 617.
- CALDARA, ANTONIO**
Come raggio di sol; Sì, si fedel (A. Scarlatti). Reverse: *Erminia in riva del Giordano* (Pasquini). Yvon Le Marc' Hadour, bar; hpschd; vln; vlc. Pathé PG 83.
- CARPENTER, JOHN ALDEN**
Watercolors: On a screen; The Odalisk. Berceuse de la gurre. Mina Hager, m-s; Celius Dougherty, pf. Musicraft 1016.
- CHOPIN, FRÉDÉRIC**
Concerto, piano, no. 1, E minor, Op. 11. Arthur Rubinstein, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. John Barbirolli. English Gramophone DB 3201-4.
- Eccossaises, Op. 72, D major, G major, D-flat major; Mazurka, Op. 68, no. 3, F major; Nocturne, Op. 15, no. 2, F-sharp major.* Raoul Koczalski, pf. German Gramophone DA 4430.
- Impromptu, Op. 36, F-sharp major; Nocturne, Op. 55, no. 2, E-flat major.* Ignaz Friedman, pf. English Columbia DX 781.
- Nocturnes, nos. 1-8, 11-12.* Arthur Rubinstein, pf. English Gramophone DB 3186-91.
- Polonaises, nos. 1-7; Polonaise, Op. 22, E-flat.* Arthur Rubinstein, pf. Victor M-353.
- Prelude, Op. 28, no. 16, B-flat minor; Etude, Op. 25, no. 4, A minor; Etude, Op. 25, no. 2, F minor; Etude, Op. 10, no. 4, C-sharp minor.* Kilenyi, pf. Pathé PG 93.
- Scherzo, Op. 54, E major.* Vladimir Horowitz, pf. English Gramophone DB 3205.
- CLÉRAMBAULT, LOUIS NICOLAS** (See *Strauss, R.*)
- DAVIDENKO, ALEXANDER** (See *Soviet Russian Music*)
- DEBUSSY, CLAUDE**
Children's Corner Suite. Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia 68962D, 17088D.
- Poissons d'or.* Reverse: *Ondine* (Ravel). Walter Gieseking, pf. English Columbia LX 623.
- DELIUS, FREDERICK**
Summer night on the river. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia 17087D.
- DITTERSDORF, KARL**
Quartet, strings, no. 6, A major. Perole String Quartet. Musicraft 1017-8.
- DONIZETTI, GAETANO** (See *Rossini*)
- DJERZHINSKY, IVAN** (See *Soviet Russian Music*)
- DUKAS, PAUL**
L'Apprenti sorcier. Reverse: *Shylock: Nocturne* (Fauré). Paris Conservatory Orch. con. Philippe Gaubert. Columbia X-75.
- DUNAIEVSKY, ISAAK** (See *Soviet Russian Music*)
- DVOŘÁK, ANTONÍN**
Slavonic Dances, Op. 46, nos. 4, 5, 7; Op. 72, nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8. Czech Phil. Orch. con. Vaclav Talich. Victor M-345.
- Trio, strings, Op. 65, F minor.* Budapest String Trio. English Decca K 161-4.
- ELGAR, SIR EDWARD**
Introduction and Allegro for strings, Op. 47; Sospiri, Op. 70. British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DB 3198.
- FAURÉ, GABRIEL** (See *Dukas*)
- FERROUD, PIERRE OCTAVE**
Trio in E, for oboe, clarinet and bassoon. Trio d'Anches de Paris. Pathé PG 84-5.

FOSTER, STEPHEN C.

Old folks at home; Beautiful dreamer; My old Kentucky home; Come where my love lies dreaming; Oh! Susanna; Old Black Joe; I dream of Jeannie with the light brown hair; Massa's in de cold ground; Ah! may the red rose live alway; De Camptown Races. Richard Crooks, t; The Balladeers. Victor M-354.

FRANÇAIX, JEAN

Concertino, piano and orchestra. Jean Françaix, pf; Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Leo Borchert. Telefunken E 2175.

Concerto, piano and orchestra. Jean Françaix, pf; Paris Phil. Orch. con. Nadia Boulanger. French Gramophone DB 5034-5.

GASTOLDI, GIOVANNI GIACOMO (See *Banchieri*)

GLUCK, C. W.

Alceste: Overture. British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. Victor 12041.

GOMOLKA, NIKOLAUS (See *Haydn*)

GRAENER, PAUL

Der Page sprach; Philanthropisch; Palmström. Gerhard Hüsch, bar; Hans Udo Müller, pf. Victor 4365.

GRANADOS, ENRIQUE

Danzas Españolas: No. 5, La Playera. Reverse: *El Puerto* (Lehmberg). George Copeland, pf. Victor 1823.

GRÉTRY, ANDRÉ

Céphale et Procris: Ballet Suite (Arr. Mottl). Brussels Conservatory Orch. con. Desiré Defauw. Columbia 69002D.

GRIEG, EDVARD

Eros, Op. 70, no. 1. Reverse: *Gesang Weylas* (Wolf); *Wanderers Nachtlied* (Schubert). Karl Schmitt-Walter, t; pf. Telefunken A 2178.

Nocturne, Op. 54, no. 4. Reverse: *Romance, Op. 24, no. 9, D-flat major* (Sibelius). André Skalski, pf. Iragen 2R-29-04.

Peer Gynt: Solvejgs Lied. Reverse: *Hubička: Wiegenlied* (Smetana). Elisabeth Schumann, s; orch. English Gramophone DA 1544.

HANDEL, G. F.

Concerto, harpsichord, Op. 4, no. 6, B-flat major; Suite, harpsichord, no. 4: Sarabande and Gigue. Marguerite Roesgen-Champion, hpschd; orch. con. Piero Coppola. Victor 4363-4.

Concerto, viola, B minor (Arr. Casadesus). William Primrose, vla; Clamberg orch. con. Walter Goehr. Columbia set 295.

Sonata, violin and piano, Op. 1, no. 13, D major. Joseph Szigeti, vln; Nikita Magaloff, pf. Columbia 17098-9D.

HAYDN, JOSEPH (See also *Bruch*)

Die Beredsamkeit; Die Harmonie in der Ehe. The Madrigal Singers. con. Lehman Engel. Gamut 10.100.

Die Beredsamkeit (in English); *Panie muzykancie prosim walcia* (Szymanowski); *Dokąd mnie chcesz za pomniece* (Gomolka); *Znasz-li ten kraj* (Moniuszko); *Krakowiak* (Walek-Walewski). The Music Makers. con. André Skalski. Iragen 2R-29-05.

The Creation: With verdure clad. Reverse: *Should he upbraid* (Bishop). Dora Labette, s; orch. con. Clarence Raybould. Columbia 9115M.

Sonata, piano, no. 39, C major: Rondo. Reverse: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr* (Bach-Perrachio). Victor 4336.

Trio, 2 flutes and violoncello, no. 1, C major. Henri Bové, fl; Frederick Wilkins, fl; Sterling Hunkins, vlc. Musicraft 1024.

Quartet, strings, Op. 3, no. 5, F major. Calvet Quartet. Telefunken A 2176-7.

HINDEMITH, PAUL

Sonata, violoncello, Op. 25, no. 3. Emanuel Feuermann, vlc; unacc. Columbia 69001D.

HONEGGER, ARTHUR

Judith: Excerpts. Cécilia Chorus of Antwerp; New Concerts Orch; Claire Croiza, m-s; Mlle. Van Herbruggen, s. con. Louis de Vocht. Columbia X-78.

IBERT, JACQUES

Andantino et Allegro marziale. Reverse: *Pastorale* (Milhaud). Trio d'Anches de Paris. Pathé PG 96.

LISZT, FRANZ (See also *Beethoven*)

Rapsodie hongroise, no. 1. Alexander Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 561.111-2.

Rapsodie hongroise, no. 2. Alexander Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 566.181.

Rapsodie hongroise, no. 2. Louis Kentner, pf. Columbia 6904D.

Rapsodie hongroise, no. 15 (Marche de Rákóczi). Alexander Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 561.113.

Rapsodie hongroise, no. 15 (Marche de Rákóczi); Venezia e Napoli, "Gondoliera."
Kilenyi, pf. Pathé PAT 79.

MEDTNER, NICOLAI

Novelle, Op. 17, no. 1, G major; Conte, Op. 20, no. 1, B-flat minor. Harry L. Anderson, pf. Iragen 2R-29-03.

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX

Lobgesang, Op. 52: All men, all things; St. Paul, Op. 36: O great is the depth. British Broadcasting Company National Chorus; Berkeley Mason, o. con. Leslie Woodgate. Columbia 7343M.

MILHAUD, DARIUS (See Ibert)

MONIUSZKO, STANISLAUS (See also Haydn)

Halka: Dance of the mountaineers; Jaw-nuta: Mazurka. Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. con. T. Mazurkiewicz. Columbia 68961D.

MONTEVERDI, CLAUDIO

Maladetto; Chione d'oro. Reverse: *Lagrimo occhi miei* (Sigismondo d'India); *Ohimè, dov'è il mio ben* (Monteverdi), Maria Castellazzi, s; Leila Ben Sedira, s. French Gramophone DB 5024.

Collection Nadia Boulanger, 1^{er} Album: Oeuvres de Claudio Monteverdi. Hor ch'il ciel e la terra; Lasciatemi morire; Zefiro torna (Ciaccona); *Ardo; Ohimè, dov'è il mio ben; Chione d'oro; Il ballo delle ingrate* (in genere rappresentative); *Amor* (Lamento della ninfa); *Ecco mormorar l'onde.* Mmes. J. de Polignac; I. Kedroff; L. Rauk; N. Kedroff; MM. P. Derenne; H. Cuenod; D. Conrad. con. Nadia Boulanger. French Gramophone DB 5038-41.

MORLEY, THOMAS (See Banchieri)

MOZART, W. A.

Concerto, piano, K. 459, F major. Artur Schnabel, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. Malcolm Sargent. English Gramophone DB 3095-8.

Don Giovanni: From *Sola, sola in bujo loco* to end of opera. Glyndebourne Festival Opera Co. con. Fritz Busch. Mozart Opera Society Vol. 9. English Gramophone.

Fantasia, organ, K. 608, F minor. G. D. Cunningham, o. English Columbia DX 780.

Quartet, strings, K. 590, F major. Budapest String Quartet. Victor M-348.

Quartet, strings, K. 590, F major. Stradivarius String Quartet. Columbia set 296.

Quintet, strings, K. 593, D major. Pro Arte Quartet; Alfred Hobday, vla. Victor M-350.

Rondo, piano, K. 382, D major. Edwin Fischer, pf. Danish Gramophone DB 3110.

Rondo, piano, K. 511, A minor. Ignace Jan Paderewski, pf. English Gramophone DB 3133.

Sonata, piano, K. 332, F major; Rondo, piano, K. 485, D major. Ernst Victor Wolff, pf. Musicraft set 1.

Sonata, piano, K. 457, C minor. Walter Gieseking, pf. English Columbia LX 615-6.

Sonata, piano, K. 570, B-flat major. Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia X-79.

Sonata, violin and piano, K. 378, B-flat major; Sonata, violin and piano, K. 454, B-flat major. Jascha Heifetz, vln; Emanuel Bay, pf. Victor M-343.

Symphony, K. 504, D major ("Prague"). Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. English Gramophone DB 3112-4.

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA
Missa Brevis. The Madrigal Singers. con. Lehman Engel. Columbia set 299.

PASQUINI, BERNARDO (See Caldara)

PONCE, MANUEL

Mazurka; Petite valse (Arr. Segovia). Andres Segovia, guitar. Victor 1824.

PROKOFIEV, SERGE

Andante, Op. 29; Gavotte, No. 3, Op. 32. Serge Prokofiev, pf. French Gramophone DB 5033.

Conte de la vieille grand' mère, Op. 31, No. 3; Gavotte, No. 2, Op. 25; Etude, Op. 52; Paysage, Op. 59. Serge Prokofiev, pf. French Gramophone DB 5032.

Suggestion diabolique, Op. 4, No. 4; Conte de la vieille grand' mère, Op. 31, No. 2.

Sonatine pastorale, Op. 59. Serge Prokofiev, pf. French Gramophone DB 5031.

Visions fugitives, Op. 22; nos. 9, 3, 17, 18, 11, 10, 16, 6, 5. Serge Prokofiev, pf. French Gramophone DB 5030.

PUCCINI, GIACOMO (See Verdi)

PURCELL, HENRY

Sonata, violin and figured bass, G minor. Stefan Frenkel, vln; Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd; Sterling Hunkins, vlc. Musicraft 1023.

- Suite, harpsichord, D minor; Toccata, harpsichord, A major.* Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Gamut 12.104.
- RIETI, VITTORIO
Quartet, strings, F major. Pro Arte Quartet. Victor 1821-2.
- ROSSINI, GIOACCHINO
L'Italiana in Algeri: Languir per una bella. Reverse: *Don Pasquale: Serenata* (Donizetti). Luigi Fort, t; orch. Columbia 4157M.
- ROUSSEL, ALBERT
Joueurs de flûte: Pan; M. de la Péjaudie; Tityre. Marcel Moysé, fl; Joseph Benvenuti, pf. Columbia 17090D.
- SCARLATTI, ALESSANDRO (See also *Caldara*)
Ariettes; Air anonyme du XVIII^e siècle (Realization by Claude Crussard). Leila Ben Sedira, s; Claude Crussard, hpschd; E. Ortmans, vln; Dominique Blot, vln; Yvonne Thibout, vlc. French Gramophone DB 5023.
- SCARLATTI, DOMENICO
Sonatas: (Longo edition) No. 33, B minor; No. 58, D minor; No. 107, D major; No. 108, D minor; No. 129, G major; No. 205, C major; No. 218, C major; No. 238, A major; No. 243, A minor; No. 384, F major; No. 407, C minor; No. 490, G major; No. 237, B-flat major; No. 434, B-flat major. Yella Pessl, hpschd. Columbia set 298.
- Sonatas: (Longo edition) No. 486, G major; No. 382, F minor.* Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Gamut 12.105.
- SCHUBERT, FRANZ (See also *Alfven* and *Grieg*)
An Sylvia, Op. 106, No. 4 (Who is Sylvia?). Reverse: *Lerchengesang* (Brahms). Karl Erb, t; Bruno Seidler-Winkler, pf. German Gramophone EG 3687.
- Aufenthalt (Schwanengesang, no. 5); Ave Maria, Op. 52, no. 4.* Marian Anderson, c; Kostí Vehanen, pf. Victor 14210.
- Du bist die Ruh', Op. 59, no. 3; Die Winterreise, Op. 89, no. 5; Der Lindenbaum.* Karl Schmitt-Walter, t; pf. Telefunken A 2130.
- Die Winterreise, Op. 89; no. 20, Der Wegweiser; Der Einsame, Op. 41.* Karl Erb, t; Bruno Seidler-Winkler, pf. German Gramophone DB 4465.
- SCHUMANN, ROBERT
Kinderszenen, Op. 15. Elly Ney, pf. German Gramophone DB 4471-2.
- Liederkreis, Op. 39; No. 2, Waldesgespräch; No. 9, Wehmuth.* Lore Fischer, c; Waldemar von Vultée, pf. Polydor 10554.
- Papillons, Op. 2.* Alfred Cortot, pf. Victor 1819-20.
- SHOSTAKOVICH, DMITRI (See *Soviet Russian Music*)
- SIBELIUS, JEAN (See also *Grieg* and *Tchaikovsky*)
Rakastava, Op. 14. Boyd Neel String Orchestra. con. Boyd Neel. English Decca X 174-5.
- Symphony no. 6, D minor, Op. 104.* Finnish National Orchestra. con. George Schneevogt.
- Quartet, strings, D minor (Voces intima).* Op. 56. Budapest String Quartet. Victor M-344.
- SIGISMONDO D'INDIA, CAVALIERE (See *Monteverdi*)
- SIERA PRAT, JOSÉ
Jerezana; L'heren; Zapateado. Reverse: *Preludio no. 5, E major; Danza mora* (Tarrega). Julio Martinez Oyanguren, guitar. Columbia 69003D.
- SMETANA, BEDRICH (See also *Grieg*)
Prodana Nevesta (Bartered Bride): Seht am Strauch die Knospen springen. Maria Wutz, s; Max Fischer, t; ch; orch. Volksoper, Berlin. *Prodana Nevesta (Bartered Bride): Polka and chorus.* Ch; orch, Volksoper, Berlin. con. Erich Orthmann. German Gramophone EH 1033.
- SOVIET RUSSIAN MUSIC
Navstrechu Dnya (Shostakovich); *Leninskaya* (Davidenko); *Ot kraya do kraya* (from *Quiet flows the Don*) (Djerzhinsky); *Yablochko* (Sailor's song and Dance); *Pesnya o rodeenye* (Dunacvsky); *Vyntovochka* (Red Army song). Male Quartet; pf; two dombras. con. Vladimir Heifetz. New Star R 1-3.
- STRAUSS, RICHARD
An einsamer Quelle, Op. 9, no. 2. Reverse: *Largo on G string* (Clérambault, Arr. Dandelot). Jascha Heifetz, vln; Arpad Sandor, pf. Victor 14369.

STRAVINSKY, IGOR

Apollon Musagète. Boyd Neel String Orch. con. Boyd Neel. Decca-Polydor X 167-70.

SZYMANOWSKI, KAROL (See also Haydn)

Notturmo and Tarantella, Op. 28. Yehudi Menuhin, vln; Marcel Gazelle, pf. Victor 14383.

TARREGA, FRANCESCO (See Siera Prat)

TARTINI, GIUSEPPE

Sonata, C major. Denise Soriano, vln; pf. Pathé PAT 57.

TCHAIKOVSKY, PETER ILVITCH (See also Berlioz)

Romeo and Juliet, Overture-Fantaisie. Reverse: *Svanevrit*, Op. 54: *The Maiden with the Roses*. Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor M-347.

Serenade of Don Juan; Legend (in English). Aubrey Pankey, bar; orch. con. M. F. Gaillard. Pathé PG 94.

UKRAINIAN SONGS

Red Army songs; Vesnianka; Mykola Schors. Ukrainian Cho. "M. Leontovich." con. F. Ilchuk. New Star U 1-2.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, RALPH

How can the tree but wither; Water mill. Nancy Evans, m-s; pf. English Decca K 862.

VERDI, GIUSEPPE

Aida: Celeste Aida. Reverse: *La Bohème: Che gelida manina* (Puccini). Jussi Björling, t; orch. con. Nils Grevillius. Victor 12039.
Giovanna d'Arco: Overture. Milan Sym. Orch. con. Lorenzo Molajoli. Columbia 68988D.

WALLEK-WALESKI, BOLESŁAW (See Haydn)

WALTON, WILLIAM

Crown Imperial (A Coronation March—1937). British Broadcasting Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. Canadian Victor 12031.

Façade Suite. London Phil. Orch. con. William Walton. Victor 12034-5.

WARLOCK, PETER

Serenade (For Frederick Delius on his sixtieth birthday). The Constant Lambert String Orch. con. Constant Lambert. English Gramophone C 2908.

WEBER, CARL MARIA VON

Euryanthe: Overture. British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. Victor 12037.

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